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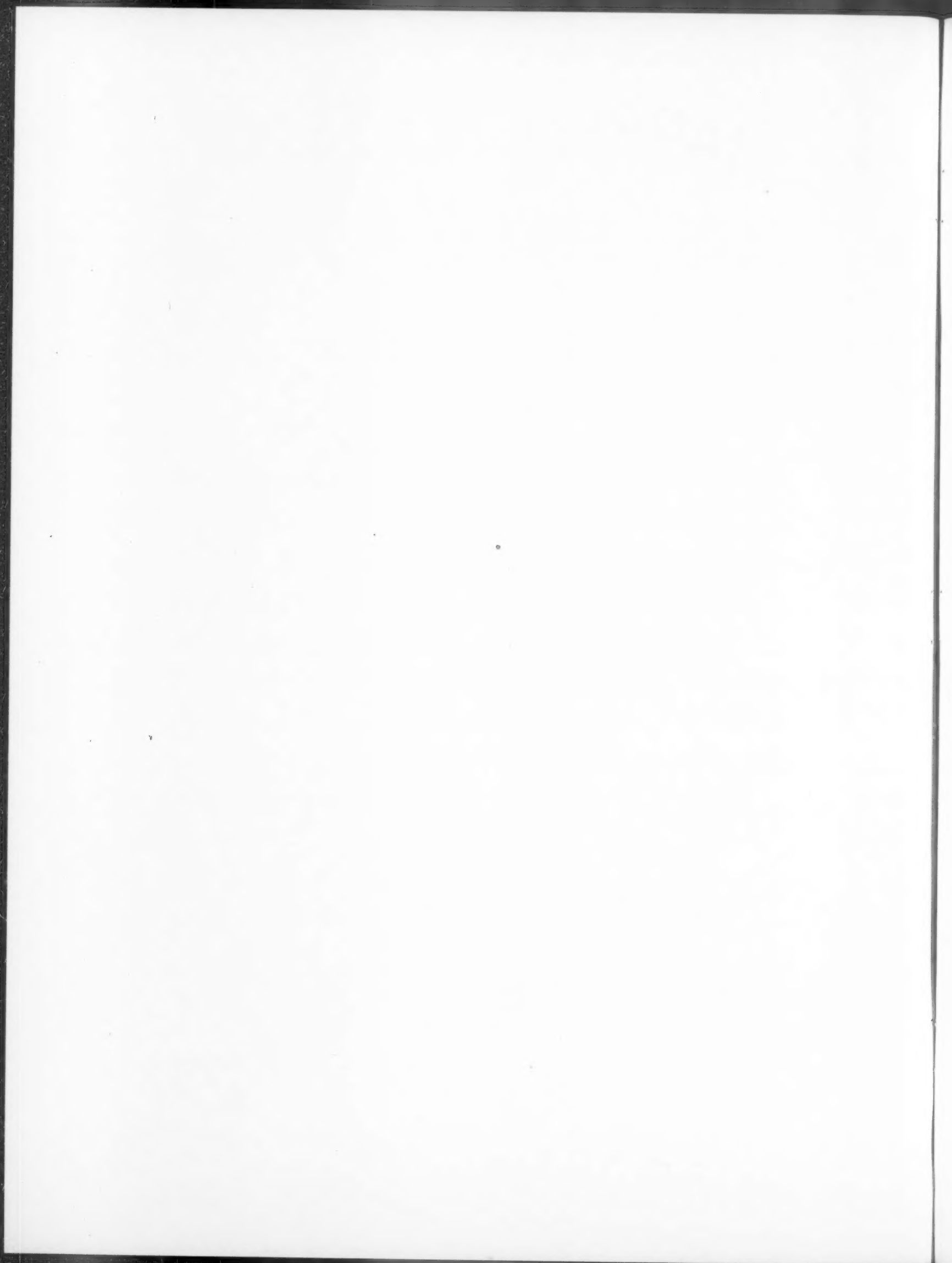
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THE "DOME OF HEAVEN" IN ASIA

ALEXANDER COBURN SOPER

IN A recent contribution Dr. Karl Lehmann has summed up with impressive thoroughness the character and extent of celestial symbolism in Western architectural decoration from Roman times into the Christian Middle Ages.¹ A study of this sort, created out of such encyclopedic learning and presented with so much balance and completeness, can hardly fail to suggest a kind of finality of its own. Something like an aesthetic compulsion, exercised perhaps against the author's will and in spite of warnings and disclaimers, half persuades even the alert reader that its elected limits are in fact actual frontiers of knowledge. In the problem of celestial symbolism, even as more narrowly defined by the practice of Mediterranean cultures, I am sure that Dr. Lehmann would be the first to protest against any such identification. The purpose of the present paper is to demonstrate the non-existence of at least one such apparent boundary, the geographical frontier to the east of the ancient and Christian worlds. I hope to show, as a kind of extended postscript to Dr. Lehmann's basic study, that many of the forms and combinations associated with the "Dome of Heaven" concept in Western architecture penetrated eastward far beyond the limits of Roman authority or of orthodox Christianity, to become a minor but still influential factor in the art of Asia; and that the process of transmission, which probably began in the period of Hellenistic conquests, may be traced by its effects there for as many centuries as in the West, and to as distant termini as China, Korea, and Japan.

From around the beginning of the Christian era to well beyond the first millennium, then, and from India across Asia to the Pacific, a whole series of monuments of religious art and architecture reveals similarities to the Western tradition of celestial symbolism, which are hard to explain except by direct borrowing. The loan in this case seems to have been far from complete. Out of the rich and complex Western repertory only a relatively few forms and simple modes of organization were hardy enough to survive in a new environment. All the higher levels of Classical organization — the manifold intricacy of Roman decorative design at its height, the intellectual sophistication that delighted in playing with relationships of time and space — apparently were left behind, as uncongenial to Eastern

minds. The migration of course involved entrance into an area dominated by alien religions, of which the first and most important in this regard was Buddhism. Western ideas had somehow to find lodging within a theological and devotional system which in some of its aspects represented an opposite extreme to either antique or Christian religious thought. The very formulae of architectural decoration through which the West had learned to give a symbolic value to buildings of Graeco-Roman type had now to be adapted to other kinds of architecture, which might differ — and sometimes differ radically — in use, plan, materials, and structural method.

Alongside these limiting factors, there were of course others which facilitated the entrance of Western symbolism into Buddhist Asia, and there encouraged its spread and persistence. Only passing mention needs to be made here of the prolonged and many-sided contacts by which one form or another of antique culture was transmitted to India in the thousand-year period between Alexander and the Arab conquests. For the northern half of the sub-continent, the home of ancient Buddhism, written records and archaeological finds are unanimous in emphasizing the strength of Western influence over many centuries. "Ancient History" today claims under a political heading the extensive empire in North India held by Bactrian Greek princes for well over a century. From the economic point of view, it draws in the same territory through the trade relations with the Graeco-Roman world maintained by their successors, Scythian, Parthian, and Kushan, at least until the third century A.D.² Artistic remains from the North offer in corroboration not merely the unmistakably classic character of Gandharan coinage, sculpture, and architectural details, but — in such finds as the jewelry of the Indo-Parthian city of Sirkap or the glassware of Begram — evidence of the actual importation of Western artifacts on a large scale.³

2. Standard discussions and guides to further bibliography in E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1938.

3. For Sirkap see Sir John Marshall's reports of Taxila excavations published in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* (hereafter referred to as *ASI*) after 1914-1915, especially 1929-1930. For Begram see J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1939 (*Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, IX).

1. Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *THE ART BULLETIN*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 1 ff.

Buddhism, again, in professing an ideal of universal salvation as against the obstinate racial narrowness of Hinduism, laid itself open to the influence of neighboring faiths. Here, too, the part played by the West was an important one. Without straying into the field of comparative religions, I may point out that the iconography of early Buddhist art in its phase of transition to Mahāyana may well have been Westernized in some degree; and (to return to the purpose of this paper) was in that respect the readier to accept a part, at least, of the classical repertory of celestial symbolism. Several of the basic cosmological concepts eventually standardized in Mahāyana lent themselves immediately to expression within the borrowed "Dome of Heaven" system. Buddhist space, like that of the antique world, might be summarized for human apprehension by the signs of the four cardinal points and the center. Buddha-hood, like the Western organizations of divinity which reached their climax in Byzantine Christian speculation, might be described by the final One, or by subdivision into numerical categories, lessening in perfection as they increased in number and in distance from Unity. Buddhism, too, imagined a host of minor supernatural beings, cousins in some cases to the creatures of classical myth and in others to the Christian angels, who might perform analogous services in religious art. The ascending tiers of Buddhist Heavens, which at least in their lower reaches were imagined in as concrete terms of size and dazzle as the New Jerusalem, were in the same way located somewhere above the inhabited Earth, and related to the visible heavenly bodies. By a happy chance, finally, the quintessential symbol of Buddhism, within which all its other concepts might be contained — the lotus⁴ — had the conventional shape of a circle, and so was perfectly fitted to occupy the apex of a geometrical system in which the final, inner relationships were all circular.

In architecture, two fortunate circumstances encouraged the transmission and survival of Western forms in Asia. Cave worship was dominant in a whole series of sites, from Afghanistan along the trade and pilgrimage route through Turkestan to China. Out of the side of a cliff it was possible to excavate borrowed vault forms of iconographic importance, like the dome and barrel, which may well have been avoided in actual construction by the same peoples. In India, also, where the ancient and natural building material was wood, there grew up (perhaps with Buddhist worship) a more honorific religious architecture of stone, in which the elements were conceived as sculpture rather than structure. A respected form might thus flourish wherever human ingenuity could produce it, in defiance of normal habits of building; sometimes, again, by the

excavation of living rock. So the Mediterranean dome enjoyed a fantastic Indian summer in the hands of craftsmen, sometimes of incredible virtuosity, who were quite ignorant of the first principles of the true vault.

Something of the penetrating power of Western schemes of celestial symbolism in Indian religious art may be suggested at the outset by two objects outside the field of architecture; to be more specific, by one object of early date, and by an iconographic formula standardized at a later period.

The first, datable close to the beginning of the Christian era (Fig. 1), is a product of the sculptors of Mathurā, a great art center in which the classicism of Gandhara was opposed by a powerful current of Indian tradition.⁵ It is a square stone plaque of the type called Ayagapatta, used in worship by the Jain sect, and apparently showing, in primitive form, something of the interest in organizing the various aspects of Deity which finally was to culminate in the great series of Buddhist Mandalas. The design here develops out of a small nuclear circle in which the Jain founder, Tirthankara, sits in meditation like a Buddha. In two successively wider concentric rings, this central Unity is surrounded by traditional religious symbols, disposed about the cardinal axes. The third, outermost ring shows four other cult forms on these axes, receiving the worship of beings in flight. The cosmological implications of the whole are powerfully stressed by the divine character of these worshippers, who fill the rôles of Buddhist *devata* or Christian angels. The final detail, which seems beyond question to draw the Indian plaque within the sphere of Western celestial symbolism, is the treatment of the four triangular corner areas expanding the design into a square (as countless Western circles were circumscribed by square frames). In each corner is the frontal trunk of a female figure with long pointed ears, whose body terminates in serpentine coils on either side, while her extended arms support the outer rim of the circle. Such details as the heavy necklaces and armlets are purely Indian additions; otherwise the figure bears an astonishingly close resemblance to the classical type that Lehmann calls a "demon" or "giant," and that he illustrates (in the same corner relationship to a central medallion) by a Roman mosaic in Algeria.⁶

The Indian impulse toward formal organization of a divine hierarchy, visible at an early stage in the Mathurā Jain plaque, was carried to conclusion in the next half-millennium by the perfection of the Tantric Mandala. Although the evidence for this side of Buddhist iconography in all its amazing variety must today be assembled almost entirely outside of India, the forms visible in Tibetan and

4. For a discussion of the far-reaching symbolic connotations of the lotus, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

5. Published in J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā* (*Ārs Asiatica*, xv), Paris and Brussels, 1930, pl. LIV, b.

6. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 17 and fig. 49; cf. fig. 48.

Japanese temples or among the archaeological discoveries of Central Asia derive unquestionably from Indian prototypes of the Guptan or Early Mediaeval periods. The potential elaboration of the formula culminates in the two great complementary Mandalas known to the Japanese as the Taizōkai and Kongōkai, and acquired by them from the T'ang capital at the beginning of the ninth century (the Chinese in turn had received them from South Indian missionaries a generation or so earlier).⁷ In the Taizōkai the possibilities of subdivision about an absolute One reach an unsurpassed geometrical extreme. The scheme proceeds from a central circle holding the image of the primal Vairocana (in Japanese Dainichi), into the first parcelling of His infinity among the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who occupy the eight petals of a circumscribed lotus. Thereafter the geometrical framework changes to the square, and field surrounds field with a multitude of divine figures, decreasing in size and importance toward the outer border. In the practice of the esoteric Buddhist sects of Japan, the Taizōkai and Kongōkai are hung like *kakemono*, facing each other across the ceremonial enclosure. Their formal arrangements, again, are recalled in the placing of utensils and symbolic articles on the ritual altar itself.⁸ The Mandala, by definition a grand composite symbol, is of course efficacious as its elements are correctly placed and represented, and depends not at all on size or materials or position. The huge, terraced stūpa of Barabudur in Java is an architectural Mandala, whose layout becomes clear in an air view.⁹ As we shall see below, one version or another of the type is frequently found among the remains of Buddhist (and Hinduist) ceiling paintings from perhaps the sixth century on, visible in monuments as far apart as India, Afghanistan, and North China. In any setting a Tantric scheme like that of the Taizōkai, with its passages from one to eight to multiplicity and from the circle to the square, recalls at once the Byzantine hierarchic organization about the Pantokrator, as the latter is displayed, for example, at Daphni.¹⁰ Simpler Indian Mandalas, by the same token, may summon up recollections of the Christian grouping of Evangelist symbols in medallions

around a central circle with the figure of Christ, which appear at least as early as the Merovingian period in European illumination.¹¹

Whether two such strikingly similar solutions of the same basic problem of religious art, developed at the same general period by neighboring faiths, were related by anything more than coincidence is a problem largely outside the scope of this paper. The mere suggestion of a Western stimulus in the evolution of the Mandala would doubtless seem to many Indians, and to loyal Tantric Buddhists elsewhere in Asia, a characteristically arrogant and stupid blasphemy. It may be pointed out merely, at the lower level of thinking accessible to a typical inheritor of European materialism, that the practice of complex formal interrelationship of geometric shapes, so ubiquitous and natural an interest in the antique world, seems to have had no antecedents in India prior to the appearance of the first true or near Mandala in the Guptan period. No closer Indian precedent for the mature Mandala systems can be adduced (by the fleshly eye at any rate) than the simple and informal Jain Ayagapatta (itself exotic at least in part, and quite exceptional among remains of its period). On the other hand, avenues of influence emerging from the great Graeco-Roman reservoir of decorative ideas may be quite plausibly imagined in at least two directions. One such might have led southward by sea from Alexandria, where the Late Antique repertory of textile ornament, for example, made such varied use of multiple square and circle designs.¹² Another might have carried by land through Iranian territory, where combinations of a central roundel and a ring of smaller circles were a favorite loan from the West in Sasanian textiles and metalwork.¹³

To return from such speculations, at least one detail of the Kongōkai seems too peculiar and too close to Graeco-Roman practice to be explained by accidental similarity. The Kongōkai varies from its partner in being a great checkerboard of nine squares rather than a design of concentric enclosures. The central square of the nine, called by the Japanese Jōshinkai, is in turn an arrangement of small circles within a large medallion, framed by square borders (Fig. 2). The critical feature is the treatment of the four corner triangular fields which, like the pendentives of a Byzantine church, bridge the two major geometrical forms. The figures dominating these areas are mailed deities in a notable cosmological sum, the Four Great Spirits of Earth, Water, Fire, and Air. Unlike the beings of the

7. Published and described in most comprehensive accounts of early Japanese art; e.g., H. Minamoto, *An Illustrated History of Japanese Art* (trans. by H. G. Henderson), Kyoto, 1935, pls. 54-55; M. Anesaki, *Buddhist Art in Its Relation to Buddhist Ideals*, Four Lectures Given at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and New York, 1915, pp. 31 ff. and pl. xvi. The composition of the Taizōkai has been most thoroughly analyzed by B. L. Suzuki, "The Shingon School of Mahāyana Buddhism, II, The Mandara," *Eastern Buddhist*, VII, 1, 2, May 1936 and June 1937.

8. See A. C. Soper, *The Evolution of Buddhist Architecture in Japan*, Princeton, 1942, pp. 143-144, fig. 157.

9. Most recently discussed in this light by B. J. Rowland, Jr., "Barabudur, a Study of Style and Iconography in Oriental Art," *Art in America*, XXIX, 1941, pp. 185 ff.

10. Byzantine dome decorations in the tradition seen earlier at Daphni are shown by Lehmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 1, 32, 41, 68.

11. To cite one example merely, the mid-eighth-century Gudohinus Gospels at Autun; E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, pl. 80.

12. See, for example, garment inserts illustrated by W. F. Volbach and E. Kuehnle, *Late Antique, Coptic, and Islamic Textiles of Egypt*, London, 1926, pl. 19.

13. E.g., A. U. Pope, etc., *A Survey of Persian Art*, London and New York, 1938, pls. 195 A, 197, 199-203, 215-216, 235-236.

Jain plaque, they conform to the concentric sense of the perfected Mandala by facing in. In this respect they differ also from the long series of corner figures, from sirens to archangels, in the Western development, whose relation to the dome forces them to face out or seem to stand on their heads. In spite of this reversal, the Four Great Spirits still hold the rim of the grand circle, as if in support.

CEILINGS IN INDIA

When we turn from general indications of the passage into India of Western systems of symbolic organization, to the specific problem of ceiling treatment, we meet an almost total failure of evidence at the very point where the investigation should logically begin. Any study of the penetration of forms and ideas from the Mediterranean into Buddhist Asia finds a natural starting-point in the Far Northwest of India, the region most strongly affected by Bactrian Greek rule and its aftermath. In Gandhara and the contiguous territory of eastern Afghanistan, an extraordinary wealth of sculptural remains in stone and stucco bears witness to close artistic ties with the Graeco-Roman world, fostered by commercial contacts that perhaps were not seriously interrupted until the rise of the Sasanian empire. The almost total destruction of the buildings that these statues and reliefs once decorated has obliterated whatever direct evidence they might have offered for our present problem. It is only with the aid of remains in two adjacent territories where the chances of preservation have been happier — Kashmir to the northeast and Bāmiyān in farther Afghanistan to the northwest — that some beginning, at least, of the reconstruction of lost Gandharan ceiling systems may be made.

The curious stone temples of Kashmir have long been recognized as a kind of provincial prolongation of Gandharan building practices, carried down without fundamental change to the period of Moslem domination in the fourteenth century. The exteriors of the Kashmir shrines, erected to serve Hinduist deities in forms that once had been Buddhist, recall directly the designs that appear so often in the architectural framework of Gandharan reliefs, made up of pointed or truncated gables and trefoil arches.¹⁴ Occasionally, in the use of columns of a marked Doric flavor, they summon up even more distant memories. The present state of the buildings is far from ideal, and in many cases the roof construction has collapsed. Existing evidence and travellers' records, however, make it certain that at least two standard roofing solutions were practiced by the medi-

aeval architects of Kashmir, presumably by inheritance from their Gandharan predecessors. One was the stone dome, with an expanded lotus carved at its apex; an excellent example was still in existence in 1866.¹⁵ The other was that ingenious combination of beamed squares and diamond shapes, the *Ubereckgewölbe* or *Laternendecke*, which plays so critical a rôle in the architectural theories of Strzygowski: it is seen best in the stone-beamed ceiling of the small tenth-century shrine at Pandrethan (Fig. 3). As every conscientious student of Near Eastern architecture of the Roman and post-classical periods has learned indelibly, Strzygowski imagined back of this late descendant a primitive wooden ancestor, invented somewhere between the Pamirs and the Caucasus — a building method so potent in generative force that it could create the whole domed architecture of the Near East, and lead as legitimately to Hagia Sophia as to Kashmir. We shall see that the square-and-diamond system, whatever its time and place of origin and its hypothetical influence on the West, spread not only deep into India but all across Asia to the Far East, both as a technique of building and as a secondary iconographic form, imitated in rock-cut caves or by painting on a flat ceiling. For our immediate purpose, it is noteworthy that the Pandrethan version has a sculptural decoration as well as a structural method somehow related to the Mediterranean dome, and that its reliefs clearly represent an attempt to reconcile the tradition of celestial symbolism created around proper domes, with the awkward spaces provided by a rectangular design. The rigid geometrical relationships of the *Laternendecke* furnish for each ascending tier of the ceiling four corner triangles, left over when the smaller square is inscribed on a diagonal within the larger. At Pandrethan these triangular areas are filled with the figures of divine beings in flight, *apsaras* or *devata*. In the lowest tier, where dimensions are largest, there is room at each corner for two such beings, symmetrically confronted; the garlands they hold, and the scarves that billow out above and behind them are clearly descended from the Mathurā tradition of celestial worshippers we have seen perhaps a thousand years earlier in the Jain plaque. The topmost square panel of the ceiling contains the culminating circle of a great lotus, in relief; and there, where for the first time the formal requirements of classical symbolism are met, the flying figure in each corner lifts up his arms to hold the circle above him.

Analyzing the few remains of Gandharan stone architecture which retain some evidence of structure, Foucher has clarified the variations on a local building type that must stand in some direct ancestral relation to the late shrines of Kashmir: the small, centralized chapel or monk's cell, discussed under the name of *vihāra*.¹⁶ One version is a simple

14. Among frequent notices, cf. J. Ferguson, J. Burgess, R. P. Spiers, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, pp. 251 ff.; J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918, pp. 619 ff.; A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1905-1922, I, pp. 139 ff.; Daya Ram Sahni, "Pre-Mohammedan Monuments of Kashmir," *ASI Rep.*, 1915-1916, pp. 49 ff.

15. *ASI Rep.*, 1915-1916, p. 67.

16. Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff.

cylinder inside and out, rising naturally into a corbelled stone dome. Another is square on the ground, and is manipulated into the crowning circle of its dome by corner corbelling. More elaborate constructions, like the chapels flanking the main *stūpa* at Takht-i-bahai, may combine a lower dome with a second, raised on a high drum. The increase in height seems to have been sought primarily to add to the effectiveness of the *vihāra* as a sculptural monument seen from the outside. At least one ruin suggests an oculus in the lower dome, which may have served to expand the spaciousness (and celestial suggestiveness) of the interior. It is natural to assume, also, that the so generally popular *Laternendecke* was used to construct at least some of the roofs shown in Gandharan reliefs in the form of a truncated pyramid.

Much speculation might be devoted to the decoration of these lost Gandharan temple interiors, so well adapted in cubical mass to the display of iconographic systems based on the circle and square, and erected by a people so generally sympathetic to religious and artistic influence from their Western neighbors. We shall see below that all the geometrical shapes and combinations found in Foucher's series of constructed *vihāra* actually appear, cut in living rock, in the Buddhist caves of the Bāmiyān vicinity, where in many cases they are accompanied by remains of sculpture or painting. These examples of imitated architecture, more varied than the formulae surviving in Kashmir, are also much earlier in date. Their beginnings certainly overlap the great age of Gandharan Buddhist art, and their radically different final stage is probably no later than the eighth century. Only their greater distance from Northwest India, and a corresponding strength of Iranian coloring, make them something less than completely acceptable data for the reconstruction of architectural and decorative forms used between Hadda and Taxila. Before proceeding to a detailed consideration of the Bāmiyān material (which logically should stand as a first stage outside India, along the international highway leading to the Far East), I wish therefore to submit in outline a third body of evidence: that furnished by later practice both within and without Buddhism in India proper.

In the centuries following the decline of Gandhara as a focus of strong cultural influence (roughly after the third century A.D.), India seems to have had little sympathy with Western ceiling symbolism as a system. At the same time a strong predilection was shown for a few of the most characteristic imported details. The material here relevant which I have been able to assemble, painted, carved in structural stone, or cut from rock, may be broadly divided into three groups. According to the geometrical bases of their designs, these might be described as: the checkerboard; the *Laternendecke*; and the circle, alone or combined with other circles or squares.

Of these the checkerboard formula is least obviously connected with any Graeco-Roman tradition of ceiling design, and perhaps shares with the others, and with our problem, only the general interest in a symbolic presentation of cosmological beliefs. I have suggested earlier that a case might be made for the passage from the West of general suggestions of geometrical organization, however. Anyone sympathetic to such ideas will find immediate parallels to the Indian checkerboard along the way. It is at least a curious coincidence that a favorite version in both East and West should deal with a large square subdivided into nine smaller ones. In the classical world an example might be cited in a mosaic floor of Antioch, or miniature renderings found in the motifs of Egyptian textiles. There the separate fields are filled with isolated human or animal forms or small scenes.¹⁷ The squares may have the regularity of a gridiron, or be arranged so that the central field is largest (turning the areas on the cardinal axes into oblongs). In India, the gridiron layout is that of a standard iconographic type often found on the ceilings of Hinduist shrines, the group of the Eight Regents of the Eight Cosmic Directions, disposed around a central Śiva or Brahmā. Each square here is filled by its proper deity, with the required assortment of attributes.¹⁸ I know no example earlier than the mediaeval period. The direct prototype I suppose to be a Buddhist Mandala, since the group suggests both the Kongōkai by its checkerboard organization and the Taizōkai by its relationship between the supreme One and a ring of eight.

Earlier than any of the known Eight Regents ceilings and less tightly organized is a nine-part ceiling design among the rich Guptan period series in the Badami caves. The main icon, Varuna, now occupies a circle within a large central square.¹⁹ The corner squares are smaller, and the intermediate fields are oblongs. These hold either floral ornament or the half-bird, half-human figures of the celestial *suparna* or *garuda*; each corner has a pair of flying deities. It might be proper to call this scheme, like those of most of the other Badami ceilings of the sixth century, a proto-Mandala, antedating the final geometrical and iconographic standardization.

The *Laternendecke* as a structural form in stone is frequently found and widely distributed in India. The early examples are purely architectural; the later may be ornamented to the limit of sculptural intricacy.²⁰ The familiar

17. Richard Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, Princeton, 1941, no. 140, pl. 68; see also reference in note 12.

18. Typical examples: A. Rea, "Chalukyan Architecture," *ASI Rep.* (New Imperial Series), 1896, pl. CVII (Harihar); H. Cousens, "Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts," *ASI Rep.* (New Imperial Series), XLII, 1926, pl. CLIX (Ganjigatti), LXXXIII (Siddhesvara); S. Kramrisch, "Die Wandmalereien zu Kelaniya," *Jahrbuch für asiatische Kunst*, I, 1924, pl. 80 (Ceylon).

19. R. D. Banerji, "The Bas-Reliefs of Badami," *ASI Memoirs*, XXV, 1928, pl. XXVII (Cave 3).

20. *ASI*, 1902-1903, p. 200 (Hinduist *mandapa* fore-hall in

Indian monster mask, *kirtimukha*, is consistently used as a main element in the triangular fields. The remaining spaces are usually filled with a luxuriant, deeply cut rinceau, which may recall East Roman usage by enclosing small figures in its loops. A late mediaeval version in the Bombay Presidency uses the intersecting square-and-diamond ceiling as the basis for an unusual Eight Regents Mandala, about a central lotus roundel.²¹

Most interesting in the present connection are the Indian ceiling designs which are based primarily on the circle. A large number of these show a common characteristic that seems non-Western, and that by reasons of antiquity and persistence may perhaps be ascribed to a traditional Indian preference. The circle is developed in concentric rings alone, rather than by radial divisions establishing axes and numerical relationships. Such, for example, seems to be the design adopted in the very early painted cave ceilings of the Rāmgarh Hill, ascribed to the third century B.C.²² The same practice is more frequent than any other in Ajanta work of the Guptan period and immediately after. In the elaborate sculptural architecture of later periods it becomes the standard treatment for the corbelled dome, for example in the mediaeval Chalukyan style. Even in this most conservative division, however, the circle is finally circumscribed by an outer square, the triangular corners being filled variously with floral ornament, flying *devata*, or *kirtimukha* masks. The concentric rings are most often the layers of a great multiple lotus, but (as in the amazingly lacy Jain interiors on Mt. Abu) may contain figure subjects.²³ Occasional mediaeval ceilings seem to combine the traditions of the concentrically divided circle and the *Laternendecke* by carrying out a complicated geometrical progression, from square through octagon and dodecagon to crowning circle.

An early elaboration of the circle-in-square design, found

front of the once Buddhist *chaitya* of the Guptan period at Ter; constructed in wood, carved rosette at center); Rea, *loc. cit.*, pls. XIX-XX (Magala; basic form oblong, and fields filled with rinceaux containing figures; masks at corners); J. Burgess, "Bidar and Aurangabad," *Archaeological Survey of Western India, Reports* (New Imperial Series), III, 1878, pl. XXV, 1 (Nārāyanpur).

21. Cousens, *loc. cit.*, pl. CXLIX, pp. 136-137 (Vishnu temple of Ketapāi Nārāyana Dēvasthāna, town of Bhatkal).

22. T. Bloch, "Caves and Inscriptions in Rāmgarh Hill," *ASI*, 1903-1904, pp. 130-131. "Series of concentric circles," divided by bands of red and yellow, here contain figures, buildings, trees, and cult symbols; dating suggested by an inscription.

23. Cousens, *loc. cit.*, pp. 22, 95, fig. 29 (Bankapūr), pl. XCIX (Annāvatti); *idem*, *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, London, 1926, pls. 36-37 (Mt. Abu). *Jahrbuch für asiatische Kunst*, I, opp. p. 104, shows a Mt. Abu ceiling where the central circle is filled not with the usual deeply under-cut lotus but with a mythological combat of two deities, while each corner has a pair of half-bird, half-human figures. J. Burgess, "Elura Cave Temples," *ASI*, 1883, pl. L, 1, shows the Jain ceiling of Cave III, Ankāi, where the petals of the great dome lotus are carved with superimposed figures, while the outer frame is octagonal.

several times at Ajanta, is a five-part complex, with a small square and inscribed rosette at each corner of the large central field.²⁴ The whole is obviously close in geometrical relationships to the Badami proto-Mandala described above, and like it has a stronger classical look than is usual in India. More complex circle schemes belong unmistakably to the Mandala system. The best published collection within this sub-group is the series of ceilings of the Badami caves, falling largely within the sixth century.²⁵ There the most frequently used combination is a grouping of eight circles or ovals about a central medallion, all enclosed within a circular frame; in one variant — an Indian cousin to the Merovingian-Carolingian scheme of Christ and the Evangelists — the numerical system is one to four. The iconography is Hinduistic, and in some examples has reached the explicit Mandala stage in which every main figure is an identifiable deity.

It is risky (and I dare say presumptuous) to generalize about Indian art, when published material over an enormous terrain is so sparse, and the eyes of the flesh and the spirit register such different impressions. I have found nothing at least to counteract my belief that the Western radial division of the circle which, as we shall see, was the dominant solution in Afghanistan and Central Asia, must always have been rare in India proper. A special interest thus attaches to one Guptan ceiling painted in Cave 17 at Ajanta, in which the organization of a great roundel does follow a system of dominant radii (Fig. 4).²⁶ Here a set of six dancing girls, presumably celestial, stand like spokes around an obliterated central medallion, each with a scarf billowing up over her head. The published photograph shows no formal separation of these figures by frames or pilasters, as would be normal to the north of India as well as in the Mediterranean world. Since they are painted on a flat surface, they face in (like the Four Great Spirits of the Taizōkai), as the figures around a dome could not reasonably do. On the other hand, the arcs formed by the six scarves are sufficiently continuous to create a kind of cusped enrichment of the circumference, and at the same time to suggest a running arcade enclosing the figures. These arcs bring the whole scheme close at least in appearance to late versions of the Graeco-Roman arcade-and-figure motif, and closer still, perhaps, to the variations of the latter preferred by Iranian taste. The theme of the billowing scarf is surely taken from the Roman attribute of dancers and sky gods; again it is tempting to derive the

24. For example, J. Burgess, "Belgām and Kaladgi," *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, New Imperial Series, I, 1874, p. 37 (Jain cave, Aiwāli; Guptan? Large lotus at center, smaller at each corner; remaining spaces filled with fish-monsters, fish, flowers, human heads).

25. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, pls. XIII, XXVI, XXVII.

26. Published in M. Hurliman, *L'Inde (Orbis Terrarum series)*, Paris, 1928, p. 109.

more formalized Indian usage through Near Eastern intermediaries, whether Late Antique Egyptian or Sasanian.²⁷ The prominence given at Ajanta in certain caves (this number 17 among them) to figures in Persian dress among the illustrative frescoes makes it all the more reasonable to suppose that large-scale decorative borrowings were occasionally made from the same exotic source.

CEILINGS IN AFGHANISTAN

Bāmiyān, halfway along the most accessible highway from India into the ancient Graeco-Iranian realm of Bactria, is no longer a site applicable to Indian problems only. It stands equally well for the vanished greatness that we must imagine in Bactria proper; and indeed represents, rather than any single culture, a swift main current of transmission, fed by lively tributaries whose waters were not fully blended; on this side from India, on that from Iran, and there from the Graeco-Roman world of the Mediterranean. At Bāmiyān our problem leaves the domain of constructed architecture to enter that of the rock-cut cave temple, which will furnish almost all of its material henceforth across Asia to the Pacific. The main features of the Bāmiyān complex of caves have been made familiar by the work of the French Mission to Afghanistan, as something of their beauty and curiosity has been reconstructed for us by the sumptuous publication of Rowland.²⁸ With such general references, I need here merely summarize the characteristics of ceiling design that bear on the present study.

The ceilings of the Bāmiyān caves (which have survived in moderately good preservation where the sculpture and wall paintings below them have largely disappeared) are obvious imitations in the living rock of the dominant structural techniques of a cosmopolitan religion. Many are crowned by cupolas. These may rise directly from a circular plan or be warped into the proper shape from an initial octagon. Where the room below is a square, the solutions include both a copy of the Iranian corner squinch, and a

more naïve scheme that profits by the solidity of rock to inscribe the circle directly, leaving the corner overhangs flat.²⁹ Elsewhere the *Laternendecke* may appear, either above its proper square or by substitution for a cupola inside a circle.³⁰ Cupola decoration is frequently of a simple sort recalling the sculptural elaboration of the exterior of Gandharan *stūpas*; drum and dome are covered by one or more tiers of continuous arcades, designed (with a juxtaposition of details from Indian, Iranian, and Graeco-Roman sources) to enclose the small figures of seated Buddhas. In a few cases the ceiling design impinges directly on the Western tradition of celestial symbolism.

In the two rooms of Cave C, the "meeting-hall" and the unfinished "sanctuary," the scale of the single surrounding arcade is so large that it becomes the dominating factor in the cupola and imposes thereon a basically radial organization. In the former room there are ten arches, held on paired colonnettes and framed by continuous moldings: a treatment whose East Roman look is only slightly modified by a Sasanian admixture.³¹ Each arch contains the painted halo and mandorla vestiges of a lost sculptural group, the standing Buddha with two attendants (Fig. 5). In the more dilapidated "sanctuary" ceiling, the separating radii are single colonnettes, partly overlapped by the big mandorlas of the painted standing Buddhas (one in each bay, apparently sixteen in all).³² The motif at the apex of both cupolas, perhaps a lotus, has been lost. Since both rooms are round in plan, the iconographic layout makes no use of axial symbols derived from combination with a square frame. It is obvious, however, that the general design derives from such Graeco-Roman practice as that reflected in the second-century mosaic floor with the Twelve Months at Antioch. In Buddhist use again it is close kin to the radial cupolas adapted by Byzantine art to Christian subject matter.³³ Compared both with these last and with the equally rigid and elaborate iconography of later Buddhism, the Bāmiyān examples betray a relatively early date by their irregularity. Like the earliest remaining Buddhist cave cupolas of Central Asia, they conform to no standard numerical system. The number of divisions of the circle varies from one cave to another, with the fluidity of religious thought not yet crystallized into Mahāyana. The later stage, with all the intricate numerical and geometrical interrelationships of a Mandala, appears in the Bāmiyān

27. Cf. A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, pls. 236 (bronze tray with figure-and-arcade circumference and interior design based on one and four circles); 221 (dancing girl with scarf over head, on lobed silver dish). C. H. Morgan, "The Motive of a Figure Holding in Both Hands a Piece of Drapery Which Blows Out Behind or Over the Figure," *Art Studies*, VI, 1928, pp. 163 ff., is a résumé of material from the Graeco-Roman standpoint, with some mention of Coptic derivations. The Ajanta dancing girls, for all their strong Gupta flavor, show at least one detail of probable Sasanian origin in the flaring ribbons which flutter out on either side of their headdresses.

28. A. and Y. Godard, J. Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Paris and Brussels, 1928; J. Hackin, J. Carl, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Paris, 1933. Both of the above are *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*; in addition Hackin has a summary of material from both, *L'Oeuvre de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, Tôkyô, 1933. B. J. Rowland, Jr., *Wall-Paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938.

29. Cupolas from circle in plan: Cave C, meeting hall and sanctuary; from octagon, Caves D, sanctuary, I; from square by squinches, Caves A, lower sanctuary, B, meeting hall, G, sanctuary; from square without adjustment, Cave A, upper sanctuary.

30. Caves A, meeting hall, B, sanctuary, V, "cave near 53 meter Buddha."

31. Rowland, *op. cit.*, pl. 4; also shown in *Antiquités bouddhiques*, pl. XXIV.

32. Rowland, *op. cit.*, pl. 2; Hackin, *L'Oeuvre*, fig. 34.

33. Cf. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 1, 13, 15, 16, 24, 41, 68.

area in the cupola of Kakrak.³⁴ Among the combinations of large and small circles, each with its divine icon, which make up this esoteric symbol of the Buddhist universe, the circle-and-square scheme is relegated to merely accessory use. Where it appears, the corner triangles have been completely assimilated to the multiple-Buddha theme of the whole, and so contain seated Buddha figures like the rest.

Whatever the ultimate relationship of the Kakrak cupola to the symbolic ceiling compositions of the Graeco-Roman world, far less similarity to the Western tradition remains here than is suggested by the probably earlier ceilings of the Badami caves in India: the Kakrak form is a mature product of Asiatic Buddhism, closely comparable to the Taizōkai and Kongōkai in richness and universal intention. In the cupola of Cave XI at Bāmiyān, the crowning element is an attempt at the same sort of systematization of concepts of divinity, but much simpler than at Kakrak and doubtless considerably earlier.³⁵ Here derivation from the West is hardly to be questioned. The scheme is a complex adjustment of non-circular geometrical coffers — triangles, elongated diamonds, hexagons — in a star pattern around a central octagon. Buddhas sit in meditation in the major fields; some of the smaller contain human heads only, of a pronounced Iranian type. But for such exotic details, the design of Cave XI might pass with complete propriety as a work of sculptors from the Mediterranean world. Its closest cousins, celebrating the planets and zodiac instead of the Buddha, are a coffered ceiling at Palmyra and a mosaic floor in Roman Africa.

The most interesting adaptation, at Bāmiyān, of celestial symbolism to the surface of a ceiling is the great and by now well-known painting of the Sun God at the crown of the niche which encloses the smaller of the two rock-cut Buddha colossi (Fig. 6). The intricate iconographic connotations of this triumphant figure in his quadriga — seemingly at once Sun and Moon God, and beyond even such relative greatness a symbol of the infinite, eternal, transcendent Buddha as well — have been too expertly analyzed by Rowland to require more than a reminder.³⁶ For the limited interests of this paper, I wish only to point out that the composition is manifest evidence of the passage of Western ideas and forms into the service of Buddhism; its uniqueness is the result in part of exceptional conditions. The "vault" surface provided for the painting, cut of course from the cliff, is a vast arch framing the head of the colossus below. Perhaps because of the lack of effective centralization inherent in such a form, the Bāmiyān de-

signer chose to present his deity in the attitude of towering verticality which would have been appropriate to a flat wall. The design, indeed, with its huge central icon enclosed above and below by smaller subsidiary figures, neither subjected to the geometric severity of a Mandala nor to the common scale and ground line of realistic art, closely recalls the *kakemono* of Tun-huang, or the Japanese and Tibetan temple treasures that display for adoration some Tantric form, say of Avalokiteśvara, to be hung against a wall. With this premise dominating the Bāmiyān painting, the fact that it should in any way recall the centralized iconographic relationships of Graeco-Roman domical ceilings is all the stronger proof of effective influence. The secondary determinant shaping the Bāmiyān vault composition was certainly a desire to reconcile the group, so far as possible, with the practices of a familiar and highly respected cupola painting tradition. The great radiant aureole of the god, while it does not wholly enclose his figure, fills the summit of the vault with the conventional full circle. And while the first premise of the iconography forbids the repetition, around the circle, of actually or nearly identical elements, the normal cupola scheme is at least suggested by compromise. Four small figures occupy what would be corners, were the aureole inscribed in a square. The upper two, shown as female busts wearing tall Persian caps, and holding scarves which billow out overhead — left figure symmetrical to right — are two of the proper classical Four Winds who should epitomize direction, and hence perceptible space. The lower two, also confronted across the width of the sun's disk, are half bird and half human, at once the celestial *kinnara* of Indian myth and the sirens who control the music of the spheres. Here too it is clear that the pair shown stands for the proper four, as they frame, for example, the four corners of the planet and zodiac ceiling at Palmyra.³⁷

The French archaeologists who have worked at Bāmiyān in recent years date the material selected above in the late fourth and fifth centuries; this largely on the basis of a noticeable Iranian influence which they tie directly to Sasanian expansion into Bactria and Afghanistan. Rowland³⁸ prefers to place the whole complex of decorations around the smaller Bāmiyān colossus in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, and sets the evolved Mandala of Kakrak last of all, perhaps in the eighth (i.e., well after the simpler experiments at Badami, and chronologically close to the appearance of a Tantric art of comparable richness in the Far East). The problem is an excessively complex one, entirely lacking in fixed dates. I shall enter it here only by recording my belief that the Bāmiyān style prior to Kakrak was worked out at various periods between the fourth or

34. Rowland, *op. cit.*, pl. 14; Hackin, *L'Oeuvre*, figs. 51-57.

35. Hackin, *ibid.*, fig. 49; compare Lehmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 3, 9.

36. Hackin, *op. cit.*, fig. 39; *Antiquités bouddhiques*, pls. XXI-XXII; Rowland, *op. cit.*, pl. 6. For discussion of iconographic implications, see Rowland, "Buddha and the Sun God," *Zalmoxis*, 1, 1938, pp. 69 ff.

37. Cf. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 2, 3, 40.

38. Hackin, *L'Oeuvre*, pp. 25 f., 31, 33 f., 35, 38, 43 f., 49; Rowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.

fifth and seventh centuries, and at its start was closely allied to the late art of Gandhara.³⁹

CEILINGS IN CHINESE TURKESTAN

In the great basin of the Tarim River, it is to the cave temple, again, that we must turn for evidence of Buddhist ceiling compositions. The paucity and extreme dilapidation of architectural remains along the old southern highway make it impossible today to reconstruct, except in terms of pure hypothesis, the ceiling iconography employed by the greatest city-state of Central Asia, the wealthy and devout Khotan. The loss of this critical link in the transmission of ideas across Asia is an irreparable one; from one point of view only, it adds greatly to the difficulty of explaining the character of early Buddhist art in North China. It must have been through the Mahāyana center of Khotan that the influences passed — whether intact or after local transformation — which came to play so important a part in the formulation of a Mahāyana art at Tun-huang and Yün-kang. In comparison, the Hināyana cities along the northern highway must have been always a kind of religious backwater; and their art — preserved today in such extraordinary quantity, so inexhaustibly rich in iconographic interest, and aesthetically so strange a mixture of mechanical draftsmanship and decorative virtuosity — contains a great deal that cannot be readily fitted into any hypothesis of transmission from West to East.

As the German expeditions of the last generation made clear, the remains of Buddhist art and architecture along the northern silk route divide broadly by location and period into two groups.⁴⁰ The easternmost of these, centering

39. Merely to suggest the considerations which have led me to form an opinion on the Bāmiyān dating, I believe that (1) the earliest work is that done in the small caves, where the decoration is largely or partially sculptural, and both round and trefoil arches are used. In one of these, Cave V, the published photograph shows at small scale a surviving seated Buddha in relief which seems to resemble the florid stage of late Gandharan sculpture, and apparently conforms to Gandharan convention also by having only a round head-halo (Hackin, *L'Oeuvre*, fig. 47). The combination of round halo and oval mandorla usual elsewhere in the group has a characteristic vertical elongation (the mandorla intersecting the halo bottom) which seems to me early. This stage I would place in the fourth or fifth century. (2) The paintings in the large niches seem to me probably sixth or seventh. I consider their stronger Iranian flavor a result of the revival of the Sasanian régime under Chosroes Anoschirvan; a different quality which seems Gupta is comparable to that seen in the datable post-sixth-century wall painting near Fondukistan (J. Hackin, "Travaux en Afghanistan," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, XII, 1938, pp. 9 ff.). Here the mandorla (as at Kakrak) intersects the halo high up, and the whole has a much fatter look than in stage 1.

40. Standard references here used are: the extraordinarily ambitious and still largely reliable early account given by A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, Berlin, 1912; his more subjective *Alt-Kutscha*, Berlin, 1920; the seven volumes of official studies by the expeditions' directors, Grünwedel, A. von LeCoq, etc., *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, Berlin, 1922-1933.

around the oasis of Turfan, is almost entirely Turkish in origin and very largely Chinese in style. Its creators were the Uigurs, dominant in middle Asia from the eighth century on, forced out of their western holdings by the Islamic tidal wave, and finally obliterated by the Mongols. As their realm in its early greatness was closely allied with and culturally dependent on the T'ang empire, a preponderant Chinese element in their art was natural; the religious concepts served were Mahāyana and to a considerable degree Tantric.

The western group of remains, centering around modern Kyzil, are appreciably earlier, primarily Hināyana in theme, and markedly different in style. The creators here were the masters of city-states among which the ancient Kucha stood first. Portraits and documentary evidence show them as Iranian in dress and weapons, apparently in physical type, and (to a not fully established degree) in speech; perhaps without sufficient justification they have been frequently called Tocharians. Attempts of the German archaeologists to date their work have vacillated considerably. The latest "official" theory has placed as far back as around 500 A.D. the earliest known manifestations in painting of an independent culture in the western oases.⁴¹ I should prefer to follow Bachhofer in asking for an even earlier date.⁴² In none of this art, prior to its loss of independence with the Uigur conquest, is Chinese influence of any sort recognizable. However it may have been tempered by local preference, its sources are clearly to be sought farther to the West.

Almost all valuable information about the art of the old Kucha culture is derived from the very numerous cave temples that are grouped on the hillsides in the vicinity of Kyzil and (in smaller number) of Qumtura, and that are found sporadically elsewhere in the region. Close examination of these caves and of the paintings covering their walls and vaults in various degrees of preservation shows a further differentiation of period within the art of Kucha.⁴³

41. Presented as a special study by E. Waldschmidt in *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, pp. 27 ff. Material available for accurate dating is extremely sparse; Waldschmidt's theory is based on the style of writing used in manuscripts and inscriptions, and a slender link with Chinese historical records through the names of two Kucha princes of the early seventh century.

42. Arguments summarized in his review of Rowland's *Wall-Paintings* in the *ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, pp. 230-232. The ties with early Chinese Buddhist art of the late fifth and sixth centuries which Bachhofer believes merit an earlier dating of Kucha material are treated in greater detail in his "Die Anfänge der buddhistische Plastik in China," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F., X, 1934, pp. 107-126.

43. Waldschmidt's final summing-up of dating evidence is accompanied by a chronologically laid-out table of important caves at the principal sites (*Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, pp. 28 ff.). *Ibid.*, III, pp. 15 ff., contains von LeCoq's analysis of architectural forms and painting styles; VI, pp. 26 ff., contains a study by Waldschmidt of illustrative methods in which stylistic differentiations are drawn in greater detail.

The greater part of the remains fall within a well-characterized late style, to which the "official" chronology assigns a development from about 600 on. This second manner in painting is notable for its indifference to draftsmanship; its drawing is no more than a nearly mechanical reproduction by pounces. In compensation, the decorative use of color is amazingly rich and daring. The cave form is rigidly standardized. The cella is a squarish or rectangular room, with a niche for the main cult image at the center of its rear wall. This wall is further pierced by the entrances to a squared-off ambulatory for the rite of circumambulation; in ground-plan the rear of the cella thus appears as a big, isolated pier. The ceiling over the cella is almost always a simulated tunnel vault, on the axis of the cave; the narrow ambulatory is roofed by smaller tunnels, which emerge on the rear cella wall as arches flanking the cult niche. The symbolic-decorative scheme applied to these "vaults" is no less rigidly formalized than the architectural setting: a building up of stylized mountains in tiers on either side of the tunnel interwoven into a more or less insistent diaper pattern, and at the same time serving as a multiple setting for small Buddhist illustrations. The zenith is normally left clear to indicate the sky and, in token of its supra-phenomenal character, is spotted with small flying beings, Buddhas, Arhats, the sun and moon, *garuda* or *kinnara* hybrids, et cetera, all freely disposed without reference to any formal scheme. It is clear that this favorite formula of the Second Kucha Style can be related to the ceiling symbolism of the West, if at all, only in the most generalized terms of thinking about the Heavens and their relation to the world of man. The question of the origin of the style and the reasons for its virtual monopoly of ceiling decoration can here be only stated as problems of exceptional interest, which have not yet been satisfactorily answered.

The scope of this paper, again, permits no more than a reference to the related problem of explaining on historical grounds the differences between the First and Second Styles, so marked, so many-sided, and at the same time contrasting with so obvious a continuity in iconography and habits of presentation. The earlier manner in painting, lacking the vivid color interest of the later, has instead at its best a grace of pose and elegance of drawing that seem not far removed from Gandharan tradition in sculpture. Instead of the monotonous repetition of a single shrine type, the few remaining caves of the first period show a considerable variety of plan. Some anticipate the cella-and-ambulatory scheme, though with uncertain proportions and details. Simpler caves are no more than rooms, variously square or oblong along either the longitudinal or the transverse axis. These spaces are covered by rock-cut "vaults" of an equal diversity. The oblongs all have simulated tunnels. In this group the celebrated Cave of the Hippocamps,

elongated at right angles to the axis of the doorway (like a far-removed descendant of that ancient Near Eastern shrine form, known at its most grandiose in the Temple of Bel at Palmyra), has on its vault a freer version of the mountain landscape formula of the Second Style.⁴⁴ Where the ground-plan approaches a square, the ceiling is treated either as a cupola (rising without any pseudo-structural pretensions directly from a flat ceiling) or in imitation of the *Laternendecke* technique.

With these last two forms, the passage into Asia of Mediterranean ceiling symbolism is even more apparent than at Bāmiyān. The one early cupola at Kyzil sufficiently well preserved to show something of its painted decoration is that of the Peacock Cave.⁴⁵ The domical element of this ceiling is crowned by a lotus; radii separate the surface below into sixteen sectors, filled by the stylized peacock feathers that give the cave its name; and each sector in addition contains the figure of a nimbed celestial being holding a garland in both hands, and represented with a frontal bust and legs protruding above, as if swooping down from on high (Fig. 7). The rim of the flat ceiling from which the cupola rises is ringed by divinities. Three of the four corners are lost; the remaining one shows a throned, cross-legged Bodhisattva — doubtless a Maitreya, facing away from the cupola — with adoring *devata* about him (Fig. 8). The other corners doubtless had similar groups, probably substituting a Buddha figure.⁴⁶ At the center of each side, nearest the circle, a god with raised arms supports its rim (as in the roughly contemporary vault of the presbyterium of San Vitale at Ravenna archangels support the central disk of the Lamb).⁴⁷ In the Peacock Cave, again, as usual in the Kucha remains, the concept of the supra-terrestrial continues onto the walls below as a sort of cornice, along which ranged deities adore a Buddha standing at the center of each wall. Perhaps because this cornice zone was imagined as one of the lower Paradises still governed by form and sense perceptions together, its setting has a rich architectural character — the traditional Indian

44. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, p. 106; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, v, no. 9, VII, pl. B, p. 69. The supposition that the transverse-oblong cave plan at Kyzil may derive from ancient Near Eastern tradition, I tie to a single leading reference, R. Bernheimer's "An Ancient Oriental Source of Christian Sacred Architecture," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 647 ff.

45. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff.; *Alt Kutscha*, II, pp. 3 ff., pls. 1 ff.; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, p. 69.

46. That this grouping on cardinal axes of Maitreya and three Buddhas was a widely accepted iconographic formula is suggested by its appearance in the central pier of Cave 6 at Yün-kang, where each face is hollowed out into a niche with an icon. The problem of the group of four is discussed at length by Naitō Tōichirō in his *The Wall-Paintings of Hōryūji* (tr. and ed. by W. R. B. Acker and B. J. Rowland, Jr., *Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations*, v, Baltimore, 1943).

47. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 45.



FIG. 1. Jain Stone Plaque, Mathura School

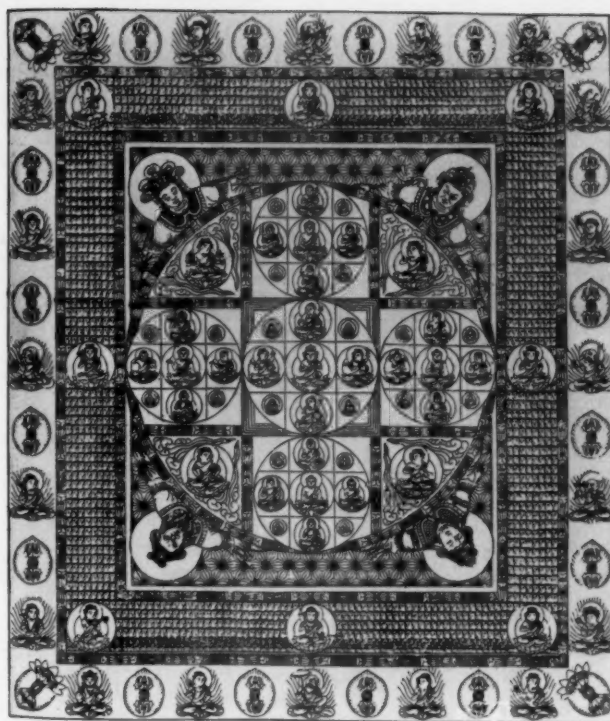


FIG. 2. Kongōkai-mandara (Redrawn): Central Square



FIG. 3. Pandrethan, Kashmir: Ceiling Detail



FIG. 4. Ajanta, Cave 17: Ceiling Detail

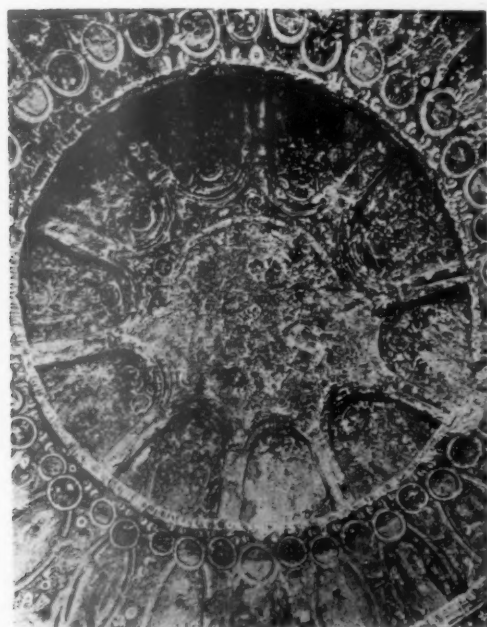


FIG. 5. Bāmiyān, Cave C "Meeting-Hall": Ceiling Detail



FIG. 6. Bāmiyān, Soffit of Arch over Lesser Colossus: the Sun God (Redrawn)



FIG. 7. Kyzil, Peacock Cave: Sectors of Cupola Painting



FIG. 8. Kyzil, Peacock Cave: Corner Detail of Flat Ceiling



FIG. 9. Kyzil, Cave with the Ring-Holding Doves: Ceiling Detail

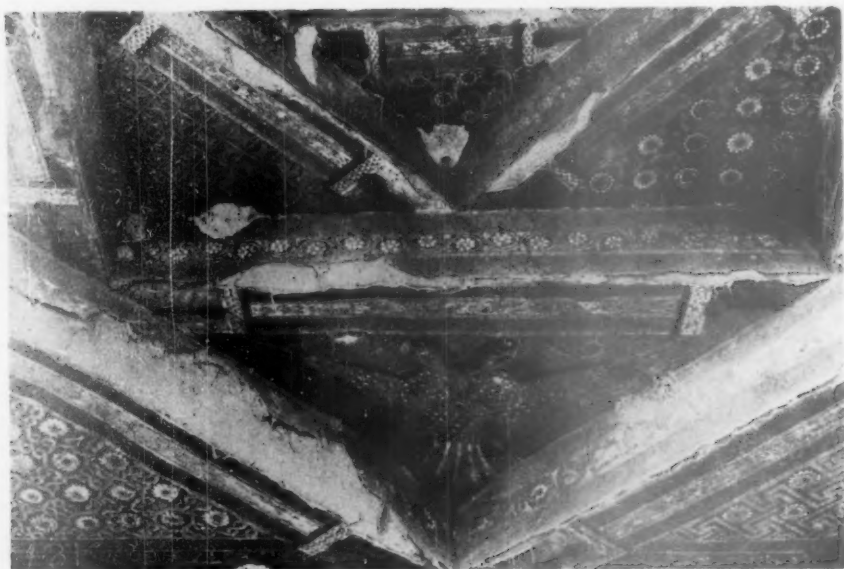


FIG. 10. Kyzil, Coffered Cave: Ceiling Detail



FIG. 11. Ansong-tong, Tomb of the Two Pillars: Interior

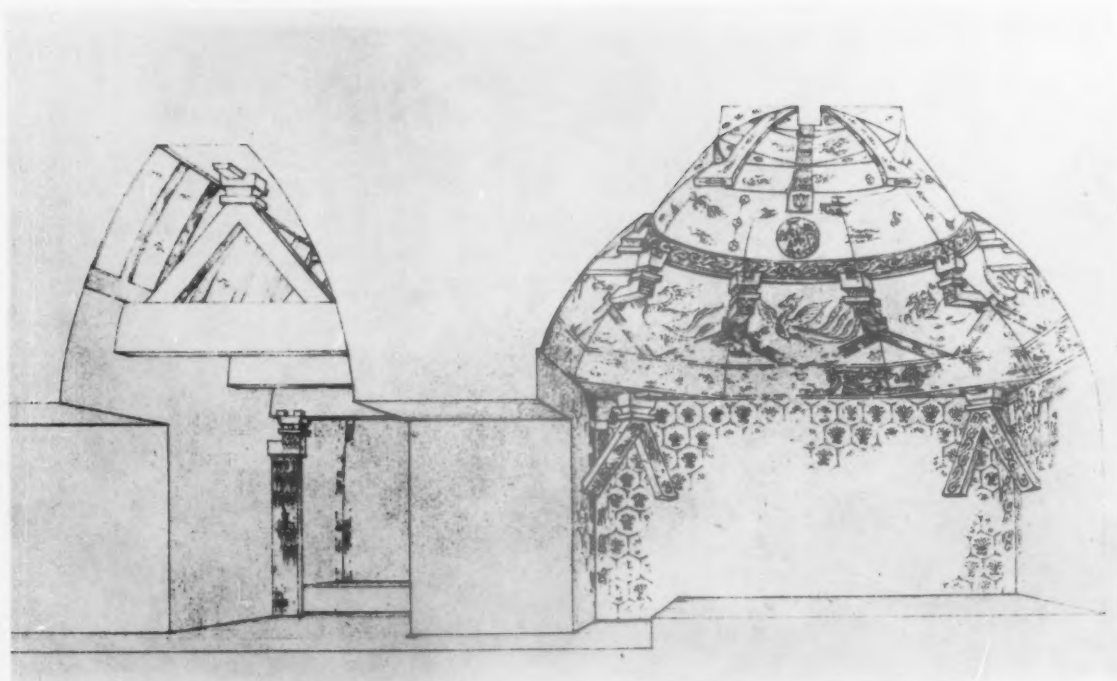


FIG. 12. Shunchon, Tomb of the Celestial Monarchs and Terrestrial Deities: Schematic Drawing

balconies below and curtains above — which is lacking in the more ethereal realms of the ceiling.

At the related site of Qumtura, a cave of the same early period, described as the Second Cupola Cave of the Second Gully, shows a closely similar treatment of the flat ceiling.⁴⁸ Published descriptions fail to make exactly clear the character of the cupola itself, except that it is said to be like that of an adjacent Qumtura shrine, the First Cupola Cave.⁴⁹ In this last, which the "official" chronology relegates to the Second Style after 650 (where it is quite exceptional), the domical element is divided into ten radial fields converging on a lotus, and containing the standing figures of alternate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Each corner of the flat ceiling below again holds a group centering on a sitting Buddha or Buddhas; while between the corners fly the usual deities.

To this persistent formula for the treatment of the square outside the circle, another Qumtura cave, Number Fifteen in the First Gully, offers a notable exception.⁵⁰ The work here has been assigned to the early Second Style in the first half of the seventh century. The cupola has fallen in complete ruin; but enough of the squared-off ceiling remains to show an extraordinary aquatic composition with small water-birds and plants. At each corner a bust-length male figure reaches up to hold the rim of the lost cupola. He lacks any visible tail, but has the same elongated ears as the female Tritons of the Jain plaque from Mathurā (Fig. 1), and is certainly a being of the same breed.

Returning to Kyzil, we find the practice of the Peacock Cave continued and varied in several later works. In the Red Cupola Cave, assigned to the outset of the Second Style around 600, the central lotus is divided into twelve fields, containing nothing more specific than stylized leaves.⁵¹ The corners are described as being "filled with flying deities holding the cupola." In the Cave with the Ring-Holding Doves, assigned to the period after 650, the composition recalls Second Style work at Qumtura.⁵² Around the central lotus there are now eight radial sectors, holding alternate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as standing figures, each with two demigods to support his feet (Fig. 9). The whole design is more regularized and orna-

mental than before, and makes a new use of wide decorative borders. The outer, flat square is tangent to the circle, so that the corners are too small for any elaborate filling. In them the aquatic theme survives, but almost in symbol only, as a lotus with smaller water-plants in each triangle. In the generally contemporary Small Cupola Cave, related by use of a similar ornamental border, the radial fields are nine instead, and contain only a heavenly musician apiece; while each outside corner has a group around a seated Buddha.⁵³

The site of Kirisch-simsim, in the same general neighborhood, has a Cave of the Knights, assigned to the later seventh century, which recalls Kyzil. Again there are eight fields of alternate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and small figures hold lotuses on which these great ones stand.⁵⁴ Two later caves in this group carry the tradition down into the period of Uigur political domination and Chinese artistic influence. In the Preta Cave the cupola has seven fields, each with a standing Buddha and small attendants in human or animal form.⁵⁵ Within each corner below is a bearded royal warrior — probably one of the four Lokapalas, the Heavenly Monarchs who rule the four quarters — supporting the rim. The partly free-standing Hall with the Animal Frieze continues the scheme of eight fields with alternate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; here the corner Lokapalas are fully mailed and raised to the dignity of thrones, while it is their followers who hold the circle.⁵⁶

Sporadic later versions of the cupola found in the Turfan area are even more strongly colored by Chinese habits in execution and ornament. Two have at their crowns an iconographic element not previously found: a medallion containing a princely figure on a horse. One of these, Temple Number Six at Sangim, completes the composition in concentric circles that recall Gupta usage; first a highly elaborated lotus, then a floral band, and finally a border of stylized curtains or swags.⁵⁷ The other, Cave Number Two in the Second Group at Bazaklik, adds the familiar four corner icons, each now a Bodhisattva seated in meditation within a formal frame.⁵⁸ Bazaklik Number Three, finally, displays a complex system of concentric circles with all the characteristics of a Mandala, bringing together Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Lokapalas, lesser deities, and Tantric symbols into a compound symbol of universal truth.⁵⁹

At this point it may be well to summarize what we can

48. Grünwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten*, pp. 14–15; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, pls. 4, 5, p. 75.

49. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 14; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, p. 76.

50. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 11; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, p. 76. The theme of water surrounding the celestial disk is one which suggests comparison with so well-known a Western dome composition as that of Santa Costanza in Rome (Lehmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 31). Any possible link between the two (and other circumambient waters in Mediterranean or Asiatic art) I should refer to a common earlier level of religious imagining.

51. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff.; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, p. 70.

52. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, pp. 55–56, 74, pl. 22.

53. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 37, 74, pl. 6.

54. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 182; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, p. 77.

55. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 189; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VI, pls. D, 19.

56. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

57. *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, pp. 66–67.

58. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 236, fig. 503, b.

learn of Buddhist cupola systems from the evidence available in Afghanistan and Central Asia. Immediately noticeable is the uncertainty of standards throughout the whole development, contrasting with the regularity — almost the inevitability — of related practice in the Mediterranean world. The Buddhist designers only occasionally follow out the clear arithmetic progressions habitual to pagan and Christian minds in the West. The number four provided by the corner fields of the circumscribed square, if there be one, normally has no predictable influence on the subdivisions of the cupola which it encloses. Prior to the stage of the Mandala, the most systematic organization among known remains is that of the Peacock Cave at Kyzil. There the four corner accents around the flat ceiling are picked up on the intermediate axes by the gods who support the circle; and it is perhaps the insistence of this interlocking of fours in the square frame that brought about the division of the dome itself into sixteen. Elsewhere, whether or not the corner triangles are filled, the number of radial sectors differs from cave to cave, being variously seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, or sixteen again. Were it possible to link all these to the data of Buddhist iconography, their radical divergence might be interestingly justified; but it is the exceptional number here that suggests even the possibility of such justification.

Beyond the unity of the Buddha Himself, the best-known multiples of early Buddhism are seven, for the Buddhas of past ages, including Gautama, or eight, for the same group with Maitreya added as Buddha of the future. These seem to have been accepted by even the conservative Hināyana. Among the ceilings reviewed above, however, the set of seven fields is found not with the presumably earliest works but with the latest, in the Preta Cave of Kirisch-simsim. The standing figures shown there were perhaps intended to be the Seven Buddhas of the Past; though if so it is hard to explain why each is provided with such unusual accessory figures, one for example being flanked by a boar and swan, another by a lotus and a dragon, and another by a lotus and a kneeling Brahman. Grünwedel, the discoverer of the cave, commented that the method of presentation seems to be derived from the small scenes set against a mountain landscape in the earlier Kucha tunnel-vault tradition, and that explanation of its details is difficult.⁵⁵ In the more conventional early Mahāyana art of North China, the Seven Buddhas appear simply as a row of seven standing figures (as in Cave XI at Yün-kang), or are separated by intervening smaller Bodhisattvas (as at Wang-chia-k'ou).⁶⁰ The solution at Kirisch-simsim might

60. Yün-kang illustrated in Shinkai T. and Nakagawa T., *Rock-Carvings from the Yün-kang Caves*, Tōkyō, 1921, pl. 119. Wang-chia-k'ou in H. Jayne, "The Buddhist Caves of the Ching Ho Valley," *Eastern Art*, 1, 1928, pp. 157 ff. For typical Indian versions, see Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, 11, pp. 329 ff.

be explained rather as an unorthodox product of thought wavering between the narrative habits of Hināyana (given most monumental form in the mountain landscape settings of the Kucha "vaults"), and the theological dogmatism of Mahāyana.

The three published caves that develop the number eight, one at Kyzil and two at Kirisch-simsim, again fail to follow conventional expectations. Since they alternate the standing figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, they can bear no reference to the old chronologically composed group of Buddhas of the Past and Future. The best-known assemblage of the same type is that which occupies the eight petals of the mystic lotus in the central square of the Taizōkai. The esoteric concepts that govern the disposition of icons within a mature Mandala, however, seem out of place in the relatively backward Buddhism of the Kucha culture, where so much that is Hināyana persisted to the end. The same doctrinal incongruity prevents an immediately satisfactory explanation of the cupola designs that display Buddhas alone in sets of ten or sixteen. The first category, represented by the "meeting-hall" of Cave C at Bāmiyān, may represent the Ten Buddhas of the Ten Directions (eight compass points, plus up and down), a cosmological group symbol known through several *sūtras*. The set of sixteen in the "sanctuary" of the same cave may possibly refer to a group mentioned in the seventh chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*.⁶¹ In both cases the strong Mahāyana flavor of the authorities is hardly what one would expect in a community described by Chinese pilgrims as being faithful to the Hināyana (though they were members of a relatively advanced sub-sect).⁶² As for the ten Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who alternate around a cupola at Qumtura, I can suggest no doctrinal justification.

For the nine celestial musicians of the Small Cupola Cave at Kyzil (as for the six dancers at Ajanta), the twelve-fold division of stylized leaves in the Red Cupola Cave, and the sixteen green peacock feathers of the Peacock Cave, no symbolic importance seems to attach to the numbers used. I believe it just possible (although I make the suggestion with the utmost timidity) that some or all of the sets of divine figures may have been composed with a similar vagueness of intention; their number and alternation may mean no more than the variation in the number of Buddhas who sit in series on the arch faces and aureoles of the early Chinese cave temples.

Notice should be paid to the occasional appearance within

61. For the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, see the Japanese Buddhist encyclopedia edited by Mochizuki S., *Bukkyō-daijiten*, Tōkyō, 1936, under *Jūhō-jūbutsu*. For the sixteen, see the English version by W. E. Soothill of *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 132-136. One of the published sections of the Mandala ceiling at Kakrak shows sixteen small seated Buddhas around a central Bodhisattva, all within a circular frame (Hackin, *L'Oeuvre*, fig. 52).

62. As noted by Rowland, *Wall-Paintings*, p. 44.

the Asiatic cupola series of quasi-decorative details that apparently stand for the canopy. Lehmann has brilliantly elucidated the importance of this concept in the Western "Dome of Heaven" tradition, where the canopy is illustrated, literally or by convention, in a multitude of examples from every period. As we shall see below, there can be no question but that the same idea — whether derived from the West or from a common source in early religious thought — was transmitted to China as part of the paraphernalia of Buddhism. The infrequency of its appearance along the intermediate trade-routes must therefore be owing rather to the lamentably incomplete state of our knowledge than to any actual lack in the repertory of the time (the theme of the canopy is reiterated again and again in Buddhist scriptures as a standard attribute of deity). At any rate, two of the later caves at Kyzil make use at the outer rim of their cupolas of a motif that seems a kind of stylized curtain fringe. In the Small Cupola Cave the effect is given by a row of touching triangles, pointing downward and terminating in a small circle at each apex (as if a lappet of cloth were accented by a bead at its point). In the Cave with the Ring-Holding Doves, the same sort of triangles are spaced more widely between verticals treated like simplified pilasters (Fig. 9); the equivocal result suggesting ignorance of the derivation of the shapes used.

As mentioned earlier, the central-type caves along the Turkestan trade-route imitate not only the dome but also the *Laternendecke* as a means of ceiling decoration. In accommodating this intrinsically awkward geometric scheme to current Buddhist iconographic preferences, the Central Asian designers make no radical departures from the sort of compromise we have seen in Kashmir (Fig. 3). The technique has several representatives at Kyzil, two belonging to the earlier period. In the Cave of the Painter the ceiling is almost completely ruined; enough remains to show a lotus inscribed in the topmost square panel, a divine being holding a garland in each of the adjacent corner triangles, and flying deities in the outer fields.⁶³ In the two adjacent Coffered Caves the triangles hold the mythological bird-monster *garuda*, represented as a stylized double eagle⁶⁴ (Fig. 10). In one case the creature grasps a snake in his beak; in the other he holds a human being, and so alludes directly to the old Indian myth of the eternal feud between the *garuda* of the sky and the serpent demigod *naga* of the earth (and indirectly to all the complex ideas surrounding the classic story of Ganymede and the eagle). By a fortunate accident, the photograph shows also how much of the Graeco-Roman mosaic repertory of geometri-

cal ornament might be adapted to the spaces of a single Central Asian ceiling.

The *Laternendecke* seems to have dropped almost completely out of favor during the later phase of Kucha art. Curiously enough it reappears as a favorite decorative device in the Uigur period. Then, however, it no longer covers the whole room, but is diminished to the scale of a large coffer, and used in rows painted on a flat ceiling.⁶⁵ Since this final stage is found earlier in China, it seems probable that its appearance in the Buddhist caves around Turfan was owing to its established position in the repertory of T'ang.

CEILINGS IN THE FAR EAST

At the cultural frontier of China, the ideas of ceiling symbolism carried with the rest of Buddhism from the West met a new and much more difficult environment. In the long progress out of the Mediterranean across Asia, ceiling iconography had demanded and received an architectural form more or less adequate to the presentation of its ideas, and at least in some way related to the dome of the Graeco-Roman world. Now Chinese architecture throughout its long history has shown a degree of self-satisfaction and a grand indifference to foreign ideas paralleled only by the Egyptian. Its willingness to adapt itself to new conditions has never been marked, and has certainly not increased when those conditions have appeared in an immigrant status, with the rank smell of the outlands about them. For Buddhism, their greatest religious experience, the Chinese were willing to make over one of their lesser building types into the semi-exotic compromise of the pagoda. For the rest, they offered an architecture already formed, adequate as they saw it to any reasonable human needs; and by a supreme intransigence, they forced all the building requirements of a cosmopolitan religion, with experiences and habits drawn from all Asia, into the hard, angular framework of purely Chinese forms.⁶⁶

The Chinese have always built primarily in wood, relegating masonry on the one hand to such secondary func-

63. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.; *Buddhistische Spätantike*, VII, p. 69.

64. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 129. For comparative illustrations conveniently assembled, cf. A. von LeCoq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1925, pp. 99-103.

65. E.g., Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 328. I have intentionally stressed the finds made along the northern trade-route by the German expeditions because of their large numbers and consistency. Further data on the ceiling designs of the Tarim Basin are provided by the discoveries of other explorers, none of which contradicts the assertions which might be made on the basis of the German material alone. Sir Mark Aurel Stein, for example, found the *Laternendecke* used for the roofs of tombs in the Astāna cemetery area near Turfan, one of which he thought might be dated 364 A.D. (*Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 660-661). Among the Toyuk ruins in the same general vicinity, where the character of the debris suggested occupation by T'ang Chinese, Tibetans, and Turks, a recovered section of ceiling had the form of a Mandala of astrological intention, in which twenty-eight seated figures — the Lunar Mansions — surrounded a roundel with a central Bodhisattva (*ibid.*, p. 619).

66. This point is discussed at somewhat greater length in Soper, *Evolution*, pp. 40-42.

tions as basements and screen walls, and on the other to such literally monumental programs as the pagoda. Their aggressively oblong halls have normally been finished above — from as far in the past as it is possible to trace architectural details with any certainty, which means at least from the pre-Christian period — in one of two ways: either by leaving the structural framework of the roof exposed, or in more pretentious practice by suspending a ceiling from the main girders. As girders are horizontal and more or less closely spaced, so the ceiling dependent on them will be basically a horizontal plane — however broken by minor projections and recesses — and in decorative treatment will tend toward an emphasis on relatively small rectilinear panels.

Into a system so ancient and so obstinately maintained, the "Dome of Heaven" iconography of the West could penetrate in only a fragmentary state. That it could show itself in anything like recognizable form in China and the areas dominated by Chinese architectural prestige — primarily Korea — was owing to a combination of favorable factors.

Most important, perhaps, was the fact that this iconography came to China associated with a powerful impulse to worship the Buddha in cave temples. To the Chinese of the Six Dynasties, a room cut out of solid rock — obviously free from the structural limitations of ordinary building — was probably also something less than proper architecture in the ideal sense, and so not wholly circumscribed by tradition. Relative freedom in the early caves must be due also in large part to their location — Tun-huang and Yün-kang being frontier sites; to the not wholly Chinese mentality of the Northern Wei Tartars who were their creators; and in general to the abnormal weakness of Chinese culture in the face of foreign inroads during the Six Dynasties period, and the immoderate enthusiasms of a first age of religious conversion. We shall see below, however, that even in the earliest frontier cave temples, Chinese habits of wood construction show themselves as an element of obdurate nationalism, alongside whatever part of the foreign repertory has managed to secure a foothold. In the constructed architecture of the same period, now lost except for a few derivative buildings in Japan, the degree of penetration of Western ideas must have been much less.

Much the same kind of historic accident must have made possible the marked exoticism of many Korean tombs of the same general period. The princes and nobles of Kokuli who were their builders had inherited what was left, after three centuries or more of relapse into semi-"barbarism," of the provincial Chinese culture implanted in Korea by the Han empire. Their most powerful neighbors, and doubtless the intermediaries through whom they received odd bits of Western influence, were the same Northern Wei Tartars, whose domain sprawled half across Asia.

Their material, stone, was at once favorable to the execution of the imported motifs, and at least partly exempt from the tyranny of Chinese wood-framing principles.

In one respect, the introduction of Buddhist ceiling iconography must have found the Chinese mind well prepared in advance. Accustomed as they have always been to a dominance of the horizontal plane in ceiling treatments, Chinese builders at least by the Han dynasty had incorporated into their repertory the possibility — under exceptional circumstances — of using wood-framed cupolas.⁶⁷ Our evidence in this regard is derived from accounts in contemporary literature of the great Han palaces, which in at least two compositions are described in extensive detail.⁶⁸ Poetic hyperbole and uncertain meaning in the case of some of the characters employed are sufficiently troublesome to prevent anything like a drawn reconstruction of the interior designs. We may be reasonably certain, however, that Han use of the element was broadly comparable to what may be seen today in a fairly large number of extant buildings a thousand years or more later in date: i.e., the introduction of one or more cupolas, much smaller than the area of the oblong hall, into the midst of a conventional horizontal ceiling, as a spatial accent; emphasizing, for example, the position of a throne dais, as the later cupola rises over the head of a Buddhist or Taoist icon. The texts give no clear indication of size, except in mentioning as a crowning detail in the construction a form which could not reasonably be expanded to more than moderate dimensions: an open flower, probably carved in wood. The large blossoms used were those of the lotus and similar aquatic plants; part of their stated purpose was to suppress by their watery character the danger of fire. From this stage of sympathetic magic, acceptance of the lotus with a new, transcendental connotation as the proper motif for a Buddhist ceiling was naturally easy. The Han cupolas are described as square, and are likened to the character for "well" (because of their formation by two pairs of parallel lines crossing at right angles; perhaps also to insist further on the symbolism of water). Probably inscribed as a circular form at a higher level was the so-called "recess" or "spring," from which the open blossom was suspended.

In one unique building type, finally, Chinese architecture had been forced at least since Han to cope with the problem of a cupola used not merely as a spatial accent, but as the major element in interior design. Among the oddly assorted memories of a Golden Age cherished by the scholars of

67. Summary discussion (in Chinese, with drawings and excellent plates) in the portfolio on Ceiling Treatments issued as vol. x of a series on historical architectural details by the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, Chung Kuo Ying Tsao Hsüeh Shê; principal editor Liang Ssü-ch'êng, Peking, 1937.

68. The prose-poems, *fu*, describing the Ling-kuang Hall in Lu and the Ching-fu Hall of the Wei kingdom; for notes on which see Soper, *Evolution*, pp. 13, 99.

late Chou, one set of fragmentary data had been assembled about an architectural concept of primary importance: the Ming-t'ang.⁶⁹ In this building — whose title, literally something like "Illustrious Hall," perhaps had the connotation simply of "Royal Hall" — the sage-kings of early Chou had performed acts of supreme symbolic value to the stability of their rule. The Ming-t'ang was a prime factor in the Royal Way of monarchs whose virtues, and whose success, were the ideals of all later ages. The possession of a Ming-t'ang, and its proper use, were in orthodox theory assets of the highest worth to any later régime which, like the Han, might wish to complement its possession of physical power by an alliance with venerated traditions of kingship. Unfortunately, as the Emperor Wu of Han found out when he made the first historically recorded attempt to reconstruct a Ming-t'ang in 107 B.C., the practice had been so long discontinued that no one knew how to erect such a building.⁷⁰ The classical and semi-classical texts which mentioned the "Royal Hall" of early Chou — almost a millennium earlier — were to the Han scholars, who were called in consultation, hopelessly incomplete and in full agreement neither on the form of the hall nor even on its main ceremonial purpose. The same texts have racked the brains of scholars in subsequent dynasties in the same way. Modern scholarship has been able to contribute only an additional element of uncertainty in questioning the value of the literary sources themselves; it now seems not entirely unlikely that the information so painfully pieced together and so interminably argued, century after century, may in part or whole represent nothing more than the fancies of antiquarians of late Chou. On the various occasions from 107 B.C. when a Ming-t'ang was actually erected — and on those perhaps more numerous occasions when the design for a proposed Ming-t'ang was so hotly contested that construction was indefinitely postponed — the forms chosen varied widely, as the predilections of the scholars in power led them to emphasize one or another interpretation of the confusing data. One definition, however, has been always accepted, and is of value for the purpose of this paper irrespective of whether it in the beginning was a true record of an actually erected building or not. In the *Book of Ceremonial of the Senior Tai*⁷¹ the description given of the Ming-t'ang includes the fact that "it was round above and

square below." Subsequent comments on this statement invariably have explained that the squareness symbolizes the (imagined) shape of the Earth, while the roundness stands for the Heavens.

There is no place in this paper for speculation on the question whether so complex an architectural form, combining the cube, the cylinder, and presumably the cone, could properly have belonged to the architectural repertory of early Chou; and if so, whether its occurrence then might best be explained by structural or by symbolic considerations. Here notice needs to be taken only of the fact that the requirement, "round above and square below," has been meticulously followed in constructed or projected versions of the Ming-t'ang at least from the Han dynasty on. Architects have perhaps never faced a more infuriating and nearly hopeless professional problem than that posed by an Imperial command to design a "Royal Hall." Beyond the paucity and unintelligibility of the primary texts on which a correct design had necessarily to be based, they have had to deal with a great tangle of secondary requirements, drawn up by later scholars from the premise that the Ming-t'ang should first of all be not a structural framework of wood, able to support itself, but a grand composite symbol. The first historic reconstructions of the hall date from a period when the Chinese mind was obsessed by a kind of pseudo-mechanical explanation of the universe, laid out in patterns as formal as those of our own mediaeval scholasticism, interlaced by an endless complication of symbolic numbers, and highly colored by ideas of magical efficacy. The operations of the Chinese imagination at this level, entirely freed from everyday necessity, show in quintessence in the specifications drawn up for the Ming-t'ang. Not only was it to be round above and square below to recall the differing shapes of Heaven and Earth, with each of its four sides given the dominant conventional color of the quarter faced; but all of its dimensions and even the numbers of its parts were to reveal numerical correspondences whose intricate interrelationship should mirror the subtle order of Universal Truth.⁷² The numbers used were always highly varied and irregular, with none of the simple, Euclidean inevitability of the Western "Dome of Heaven" formulae or of the Buddhist Mandala. It is clear at the same time that the value of the majority necessarily lay in their pure existence; and that the power to communicate to an observer which is so prominent in both the "Dome of Heaven" scheme and the Mandala was largely absent. The fact, for example, that the Grand Apartment of the Ming-t'ang in one reconstruction was made sixty feet square to signify the number of alterations of the Yin principle⁷³ can have transmitted neither aesthetic pleasure nor edification to anyone present within its walls.

That a Ming-t'ang could ever have been given stable and habitable form in the midst of such vapors is perhaps

69. Pertinent bibliography on the Ming-t'ang is, so far as I know, entirely in Chinese or Japanese. The standard early literary references are conveniently assembled in the section on the hall in the Ch'ing Imperial encyclopedia, *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*. Interpretation of the title as "Royal Hall" is made by H. Maspero, "Le mot Ming," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXIII, 1933, pp. 268 ff. For a rationalized explanation of the building's purpose, see his *La Chine antique*, Paris, 1927, pp. 145-148.

70. Brief account in Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note 32.

71. On the relation of this early Han edition to the standard *Record of Ceremonial*, see S. Couvreur's French translation, *Li Ki*, Ho Kien Fou, 1913, pp. xv-xvi.

due most of all to the Chinese genius for quietly sensible compromise. However the pioneers in Han may have been bedevilled by impossible conditions, historical records make it apparent that the way to a happy solution was found, and at least by T'ang was fully exploited. The sum of available numbers possessing symbolic significance, drawn from the basic subdivisions of space and time, from the movements of the celestial bodies, and from the more esoteric operations of cosmic principles, was by then very large. It had been agreed, furthermore, that numbers might be added or multiplied together to produce new numbers, whose resulting efficacy would be actually enhanced thereby. With such equipment and a little scholarly research, it had thus become possible to justify, on one ground or another in ingenious combinations, the use of almost any number required to measure quantity or dimensions in a practicable building. A few fundamental numerical relationships, of the order of roundness and squareness — above all the number four, tied to the cardinal points — remained as visible signs of the intended order. The rest of the fantastic cloud-castle of symbolism merely hovered in supra-sensible existence about a structural framework designed to rise to a great height and to span wide areas.

The projected building which demonstrates most clearly this unobtrusive triumph of common sense, the design submitted to the T'ang Emperor in 667, is described in sufficient detail to permit at least a partial reconstruction today.⁷² This Ming-t'ang was to be a square building, nine bays on a side, "because the *Canon of History* speaks of the Earth as being made up of nine provinces." Each bay was to be nineteen feet wide, in order that the efficacy of the system of nines might be increased by "ten, which according to the *Chou Book of Changes* is the number of Yin." "At the hall's heart are to be eight columns, each fifty-five feet long. There are eight because in the *River Diagram* eight columns support the Heavens; and the length is to be fifty-five, because in the *Book of Changes* that is the number of Great Extension. . . . Outside of the hall's heart will be placed four columns as auxiliaries, thus symbolizing the Four Auxiliary Stars which are referred to in the *Han History* as being in the Heavens. . . ." Apparently the three central bays of the hall were to be left open to form a spacious central square. The corner columns here, lower than the rest, were to be the means of connection between the central octagon and the smaller squares of the regular framing (at a still lower level) outside. One can imagine the relationship as comparable, in the straight-line terms of wood framing, to a Byzantine dome held on an octagon, which changes to a square below by squinches or pendentives. The central eight columns of the T'ang hall were the highest in the building; and since the Ming-t'ang was

to be "round above," presumably the geometrical progression terminated in a cylindrical (or perhaps sixteen-sided) element with a crowning cupola visible on the exterior.

The design of 667, like many of its predecessors, was never acted on, so vociferous was the opposition of a rival faction of scholars. It seems to have been generally the case throughout Chinese history that the Ming-t'ang has been more argued about than used.⁷³ In several dynasties, persistent failure to agree on an acceptable solution has led to a pessimistic compromise; ceremonies proper to the "Royal Hall" were performed by the Emperor in one of the conventional palace buildings, presumably modified for the purpose by partitioning and fresh decoration. To the best of my very imperfect knowledge, such has been the practice of more recent régimes since the Sung. The most renowned of all the versions of the Ming-t'ang in architectural history, built in 688, owed its existence to the impatient and domineering will of the great usurper-Empress Wu.⁷² Erected as the first in a series of stupendous creative gestures by which the old Dowager sought the alliance of heavenly powers, this building for a few years was the ceremonial center of the whole empire, a temple for all religions in one, an overwhelming embodiment of imperial power and ambition; in architecture perhaps as unique an achievement as was the contemporary stone colossus at Lung-mên in Buddhist art. Here the recorded description is more succinct. Ground dimensions were 300 feet on a side (whether of the platform or of the hall itself is not clear). "There were three storeys, with a total height of 294 feet. The lowest, symbolizing the Four Seasons, had each of its four faces colored to correspond to its orientation. The middle stood for the Twelve Branches (of the duodenary cycle), and was crowned by a round cupola, supported by nine dragons. The top storey stood for the Twenty-four Solar Periods

73. An attempt to erect a Ming-t'ang, as part of the revival of a unified China after the long separation of the Six Dynasties, had been made under the Sui régime at the end of the sixth century, and ended in the same deadlock. The architect then in charge, Yü Wen-k'ai, was one of the great figures of his profession in Chinese history. The wooden model which he submitted is said to have had the form of a square hall surmounted by a round belvedere, *kuan*. It is interesting to note that his biography in *Sui Shu* also mentions his erection in 607 of "a 'Watching-the-wind-currents Hall' for the Emperor, which could accommodate several hundred attendants and guards above, while below it had a pivot mechanism so that it could be turned rapidly. It seemed like the work of a god; the barbarians who saw it were struck with amazement and fear, while the Emperor was filled with gladness." (See the "Collected Biographies of Master Craftsmen" compiled by Liang Chi-hsiung in the *Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture*, III, 1, March, 1932.) Readers of Lehmann's article will be reminded of the material he has assembled on the revolving hall of Nero and the "Throne of Chosroes" (*op. cit.*, pp. 24-25). It would not be hard to make a case for the passage of such an idea from the Mediterranean world to China at the end of the sixth century, when the Chinese court, through its relations with the great Middle Asian empire of the Turks, was suddenly brought close to both Byzantium and the Sasanian realm.

72. Account in the dynastic history *T'ang Shu*, xx, second chapter on Rites and Ceremonies.

(of the year); it too had a round cupola. On the very top was set an iron phoenix, ten feet high. . . . Running up the middle so as to connect bottom and top was a huge wooden shaft of ten spans' circumference. . . ." When first completed the building was entitled the Divine Shrine of a Myriad Symbols; when rebuilt in 697 after a disastrous fire it was called the Shrine for Communication with Heaven.

An obvious intruder in this extraordinary erection was the central shaft. That its purpose was structural, and so analogous to the central pillar of a wood-framed pagoda, is fairly certain. After the downfall of the Dowager the Ming-t'ang, sharing the anathema proclaimed against all her works, was first abandoned and then remodelled in 737-739 for purely secular use as a palace building. In the process the upper storeys were pulled down and the shaft was removed; then a new octagonal tower was added above the old balcony level, reaching a total height 95 feet below the old apex. Probably this diminution made it seem safe to remove the central core. The fact that the latter was used at the outset, and was considered a detail of sufficient interest to warrant mention in the *T'ang History*, may well indicate that the framing, at such a height, of so spacious a central area with a cupola was without precedent in earlier Chinese construction.

Whether a Ming-t'ang actually stood in the Chinese capital as the most awesome achievement of Imperial building, or was merely the subject of research, discussion, and experimental reconstruction, its authority must have given an exceptional prestige and power of survival to the wooden cupola. I should prefer not to hazard a guess as to the relationship between the round-and-square design of the Ming-t'ang tradition and the use of symbolic "wells" in the ceilings of Han palaces. On the other hand, it is not hard to believe that the magnificence and renown of the Empress Wu's grand shrine may have encouraged a widespread use of the cupola form on a new scale of size and elaboration in subsequent monumental architecture. The fact that the cupola became actually too popular, in conservative opinion, is suggested by a clause in the Imperial sumptuary legislation of 827, which forbade its use to all private individuals, even to Imperial princes;⁷⁴ presumably its honorific character was considered inappropriate to any but the noblest service. Doubtless the prejudice that attempted to limit its application was based on the symbolic

connection between the cupola and Heaven itself, which piety dared to refer only to the Son of Heaven or to the gods.

The introduction of ideas of Western celestial symbolism into the area dominated by Chinese culture may be illustrated by several roughly contemporary sites of the late fifth and sixth centuries. Earliest, perhaps, in a cultural sense and so most properly discussed at the outset are the data furnished by the series of princely tombs in eastern Manchuria and northern Korea built under the kingdom of Kokuli. Published monuments in this group are divided between two regions, the environs of successive capitals of the kingdom. The plain of T'ung-kou on the Yalu River in Manchuria is commonly accepted today as the site of the royal city of Kokuli between about 200 A.D. and 427. In the latter year the reigning king transferred his court to Pyongyang (the Japanese Heijō), presumably with the dual purpose of withdrawing from a territory exposed to Tartar attacks from the West, and of acting more directly in the politics of the Korean peninsula; the capital remained there until the defeat and abolition of Kokuli in 668. Both capital neighborhoods contain untold numbers of tombs of all sizes.⁷⁵ The most ambitious separate into two types, the stone pyramid and the earthen mound. Of these the former is best represented and at largest scale at T'ung-kou, and seems therefore the earlier; Japanese archaeologists have tentatively identified the two best-known as the tombs of the first and last kings to rule from that city. Conversely the earthen mound is more characteristic around Pyongyang; the excellent examples of the type found at T'ung-kou are considered erections of the period following the removal of royal residence. The pyramid tombs have small, plain inner chambers, covered by stone monoliths and at least today lacking any remains of decoration. The other type is essentially a stone-built house covered with earth after its completion, as radically different inside as out. The plan may consist of several rooms; the roof construction is corbelled, and a major element in the effect of the interior. A large number of tombs retain both on their walls and ceiling surfaces large areas of painted decoration. A guess might be ventured that the warrior aristocracy of Kokuli owed their second major tomb type, borrowed some time in the fifth century, to a new intimacy with their dominant neighbor on the continent, the Tartars of Northern Wei.

74. Recorded in the "new" dynastic history, *Hsin T'ang Shu*, xxiv, chapter on Chariots and Dress. That it proved impossible to reserve the cupola — like so many other attributes — to Imperial or religious use alone is perhaps demonstrated by the word which means "ceiling" in the most general sense in modern Japan, and which must in the beginning have been borrowed from T'ang China: *tenjō*, literally "celestial well" (with the same character which appears in the descriptions of Han palaces and in the standard early phrase for "cupola").

75. The Manchurian examples have been sumptuously published in *T'ung-kou, Kao-kou-lian Tombs with Wall Paintings*, etc., by Ikeuchi H. and Umehara S., Tōkyō and Hsin-chēng, 1940. The Korean ones are best illustrated at large scale in the long series *Chōsen-koseki-zufu*, which I have not been able to consult. I have used the brief English account in A. Eckardt, *History of Korean Art*, London and Leipzig, 1929, pp. 43-45, Insert Plate H and figs. 68-72; the plates of the Li Museum publication *Chōsen-kofun-hekigashū* ("Explanatory Sketch of Mural Paintings in the Old Tombs of the Kokuryō Period"), Tōkyō, 1916; and Japanese description by Sekino T. in *Chōsen-bijutsushi*, Keijō, 1933, pp. 34 ff.

The paintings of the mound tombs are full of details that recall the culture of the steppe nomads: fashions in costume, fashions in warfare (with mailed knights akin to those in the frescoes of Kyzil), and mounted hunters;⁷⁶ it is in no way surprising that other details should be equally exotic, and provide a terminus in the passage of celestial symbolism across Asia.

One argument in favor of a relatively early date for the Korean mound tombs is the absence or unimportance of Buddhist elements in their decoration. Buddhism was introduced into Kokuli as early as 372, if local tradition is to be trusted.⁷⁷ The meager records suggest that its initial advance was slow, however; I should suppose that marked acceleration came first as a result of the stimulus given the new religion by the enthusiastic patronage of Northern Wei rulers after the middle of the fifth century. The paintings of the mound tombs, both at T'ung-kou and around Pyongyang, draw the great majority of their material from the pre-Buddhist tradition of Chinese art, often with such fidelity that they seem a provincial prolongation of Han style. Some examples show on their walls simulated architectural details in the same pure Chinese mode that we know cut in stone at Yün-kang and Lung-mên (Fig. 11).⁷⁸ Where so much is wholly proper to the ancient civilization of the Far East, it is all the more interesting to find, in the same monument, other elements that seem to belong with equal finality to the current we have been tracing all the way from Kashmir.

The typical roofing technique of the mound tombs, used on square or rectangular plans and with a considerable range between simplicity and elaboration, is the *Laternendecke*, built out of stone beams and slabs. Normally the

sepulchral chamber is covered by a single square-and-diamond construction. If there is a fore-room it may have a simpler ceiling of the same sort, or a more direct form of corbelling that suggests a cloister vault; one Korean monument, the Great Tomb at Anson-tong, has a wide, shallow fore-chamber roofed in three bays, each with its own *Laternendecke*.⁷⁹ An extraordinary exception to the virtual uniformity of the rest is the Tomb of the Celestial Monarchs and Terrestrial Deities (Fig. 12).⁸⁰ Here the *Laternendecke* is present only at small scale as the crowning element in a complex simulated cupola, where square room turns to octagon and octagon back again to square. Each transition is reinforced by simulated bracketing; where the final square begins, four arms curve up to support the center of the capstone. This is unquestionably a stone-cut and painted imitation of some wood-framed design worked out to support an actual building. Its sources must have been purely Chinese; the design should fit somewhere along the development from the "wells" of the Han palaces to the Ming-t'ang of Empress Wu. The roofing formula of the rest of the Kokuli tombs, on the other hand, I should suppose to be a recent importation from Central Asia. In the one tomb where the two architectural traditions meet, the shrinkage of the *Laternendecke* to the scale of a conventional symbol is a first sign of the degeneration we shall see again in China proper.

The designers of the Kokuli tomb type were scrupulous observers of a well-developed celestial iconography. The most frequently met details are Chinese. The orientation of the tomb toward the cardinal points is stressed by representation, often at large scale, of the Four Spirits on its four walls (red bird, white tiger, black tortoise-and-serpent, and green dragon on south, west, north, and east respectively). The tiers of the *Laternendecke* are painted with a variety of supra-terrestrial motifs: cloud streamers, birds or dragons in flight (sometimes bearing Immortals), celestial blossoms, divine beings making music. The more orderly phenomena of the heavens are recalled by the sun and moon (often balancing each other on east and west panels),⁸¹

76. See comparative illustrations on dress and military accoutrements assembled by von LeCoq in *Bilderatlas*.

77. A summary of the initial stages of Buddhism and diplomatic contacts with the Chinese courts in the Korean Three Kingdoms is given by Sekino in an article on the sculpture of that period, "Chōsen Sankoku-jidai no Chōkoku," in *Hōun*, VII, 1934, pp. 4 ff.

78. The Tomb of the Two Pillars is more strongly colored by Buddhism (its wall paintings include the figure of a priest), and closer to the North Chinese cave temples than any other in the Korean series. The interrelationships between the painted architectural details of the tombs, those carved in stone in the Chinese caves, and the constructed buildings of Japan have been treated in an article by Hamada which I know only in a Chinese translation in the *Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture*, III, 1, 1932, with the English title, "Comparison of the Architectural Forms of Hōryūji with Those of the Han and Six Dynasties." The two octagonal pillars, separating the two chambers, from which the tomb derives its name, are quite close in their capital and base details to those which rise across the front of Cave 12 at Yün-kang (best seen in a drawing accompanying an article in Chinese by Liang S.-c., Liu T.-t., and P. Lin, "The Architecture of the Northern Wei Dynasty as Revealed in the Yung-kang Grottoes," *ibid.*, IV, 4, 1934). At a farther remove, they recall the Roman Doric in somewhat the same way as do the pillars of Kashmir. The Tomb of the Two Pillars, again, in providing painted guardian figures on either side of its doorway, recalls standard Chinese practice.

79. Eckardt, *op. cit.*, pl. H, fig. 71; Sekino, *Chōsen-bijutsushi*, p. 47.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44. See also reference to bracketing method in Soper, *Evolution*, pp. 99-100.

81. See, for example, *T'ung-kou*, II, discussion of the Tomb of the Four Spirits, Shishin-zuka. Here each wall is set aside for its proper "Spirit," or direction-symbol. The first diamond inscribed inside the *Laternendecke* is truncated at the corners. Of these four small, but strongly accented, fields, those on east and west show the disks of sun and moon, while the opposing two have identical monsters painted so as to suggest that they are bearing the upper tier of beams on their backs. On the capstone is a dragon, with three stars indicated along the north edge of the slab. By a curious choice, of the divine beings shown on a lower corbelled tier riding on dragons, etc., those on the eastern sides wear Chinese dress, while those opposite wear the Western fashions of Middle Asia.

and the signs of the more important constellations. The crowning motif on the capstone is sometimes the Buddhist lotus, and elsewhere the Chinese dragon. As striking as the unanimity of architectural form is the general lack of contact between this decorative scheme and the habits of design which are the subject of my study. Only in one Korean example thought by Sekino to be the latest in the whole series, the Medium-Sized Tomb (Number Two) at Sammyoli, is the crowning, rectangular slab painted in something like the orderly, axial arrangement of the "Dome of Heaven" system, with a lotus at the center, sun and moon disks spotted on east and west, balanced phoenixes on north and south, and floral fillers in each corner.⁸²

The one manifest borrowing from the repertory familiar to us is to be seen in one of the major monuments of T'ung-kou, the Three-Chambered Tomb.⁸³ The ground-plan here is exceptional, with three connecting rooms occupying as it were three corners of a square and the entrance running out through the fourth. The ceilings in form and decoration conform perfectly to general Kokuli practice. The one surprising intrusion is the appearance of Atlantid figures in the farther two chambers, one on each wall not opened up by a passage (Figs. 13, 14); beings in the tight coats and trousers of Central Asia, linked to the heavens by the cloud wisps trailing from their bodies, who reach up their arms to support the cornice beam. Their position is that of the supporting figures in the Kucha wall paintings, on the main axes rather than the corners; they are unfamiliar otherwise only in being tied to the square of the *Laternendecke* rather than to the original circle. I should like to believe (but dare not) that the serpents turning around the legs of some of them are a misunderstood, rationalized imitation of the coiling extremities of the "Tritons" we have seen in Jain art at Mathurā.

Turning now to China proper, we find that at Tun-huang a fairly large group of caves may be assigned on stylistic grounds to the late Six Dynasties period, beginning toward the end of the fifth century. One of the most important, Cave 120 N, has the rare advantage of an inscription with a founding date in 538 or 539. The group as a whole, on the far western frontier, shows occasional strong and natural resemblances to Kucha practice. Divergence is equally noticeable, and is the rule in the design of the cave itself. Most often the excavation is simply a large room, squarish or oblong on the axis of the doorway. Where provision is made for ritual procession around a central pier, the effect resembles the Kucha formula only in ground-plan; it is that of a shaft at the center of a room, rather than a cella with a lower rear passage. To cover these

spaces, the Tun-huang excavators used one or the other of two solutions. The simpler imitates the flat, reticulated ceiling of immemorial Chinese habit. Novelty extends only to the use of the *Laternendecke*, greatly reduced in size to become the painted fill for each coffer. In several caves of the type, a kind of forehall is marked off at the ceiling level, with an open gable roof running in the transverse sense and parallel lines in paint to simulate the underside of rafters.⁸⁴ In every respect except the exotic detail of the coffer fill, this scheme conforms to the conventions of Chinese wooden architecture.

The alternative solution at Tun-huang is more pertinent to our purpose. The open room here rises from its cornice in the form of a truncated pyramid.⁸⁵ The big square at the top is painted as a decorative vestige of the *Laternendecke*. The flat planes sloping away below both suggest the interior of a tent, and recall something of the effect of a cupola. For two caves the available photographs are explicit in detail. In Cave 101, the plane intersections at the corners are marked by strong dark borders (Fig. 15). At the cornice level a line of fantastically steep mountains at small scale, full of tiny human and animal activity, marks the limit of the solid world. All above is the realm of the air, filled with beings in flight, trailing scarves, and cloud streamers, the same Chinese language of motion rather than static order which we have seen in the Kokuli tombs. Over the niche for the main icon the painting becomes definitely oriented; here appear the great World-mountain Sumeru with the palaces of the gods on its summit, and the monstrous Asura who holds sun and moon aloft in his hands.

In Cave 120 N, at the end of the 530's, the elements are substantially the same, but the corner borders have become an extraordinary compound form, shown as if suspended from the central square (Fig. 16). The details here may all be assigned to one Asiatic source or another; the demon mask at the top with curtain ends streaming from his jaws is the Indian *kirtimukha*, used to suspend garlands in the reliefs of Lung-mên; the bells at the bottom recall those which were hung from the corners of the great pagodas of the Northern Wei capital.⁸⁶ With every part accounted for, the sum still bears a haunting resemblance to a corner arabesque derived from the Fourth Pompeian Style, found say at Hadrian's Villa. I shall not enlarge on the similarity, which may be accidental; but shall point out, instead, that the central square of Cave 120 N shows clearly what is probably true also of 101: treatment in imitation of a big canopy. Around the outside frame of the painted *Later-*

84. For early coffered ceilings, see Caves 69, 103, 111 A, 111, 121, 137 A, as illustrated in P. Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen-houang*, Paris, 1914. All of the above except 111 A seem to have simulated fore-chambers with open gable roofs.

85. See Caves 65, 101, 120 N.

86. Soper, *Evolution*, p. 37, quotation on the pagoda of Yungning-ssü.

82. Sekino, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51; Eckardt, *op. cit.*, fig. 72 (the date given, 565 A.D., is unjustified, though the general period may well be rightly assigned on style); *Chōsen-kofun-hekigashū*, fig. 48.

83. Described in *T'ung-kou*, 11.

nendecke are represented two tiers of triangular lappets. In the bottom tier the apices terminate in small circles; between the triangles are drawn dark vertical stripes, widening at the base, which perhaps stand for some sort of pendant. Doubtless the same sort of canopy fringe explains the more stylized borders of the late Kucha cupolas. The treatment is found imitated endlessly in stone above individual icons in the Northern Wei caves. It exists as an actual, extant, wood-framed canopy in the Golden Hall of Hōryūji (a century or so later, owing to the time lag in reaching Japan). In the Hōryūji Kondō, two of the three canopies that hang from the ceiling beams above the main icons of the platform altar are seventh-century originals (Fig. 17).⁸⁷ Closely similar details are used as a sort of cornice around the top of the slightly later Tachibana Shrine, standing on the same platform. Buddhist texts are full of references to canopies of unimaginable size or richness, shielding and honoring the great Buddhas and Bodhisattvas or raining down through the skies in miraculous profusion. The compound by which the Chinese translators rendered the concept, *t'ien-kai*, means literally "celestial parasol," and so must have been a continual reminder of its supra-terrestrial character. The sculptors at Hōryūji quite properly set a row of heavenly musicians around the cornice of their canopy type, and gave a further symbolic interest to its sides by a spacing of impressive birds of the phoenix species — the Far Eastern transformation of the Indian *garuda*, who balances sun and moon on the latest of the Kokuli ceilings. A miniature reticulation, again, divides the canopy's own ceiling into coffer, each filled with a painted lotus.

Farther to the east, where the highway from Tun-huang to the ancient Ch'ang-an crosses the Kansu-Shensi border, a partially studied group of cave sites includes at least one work of interest to us here. The great, open, transverse-oblong room at Wang-chia-k'ou, with its seven colossal standing Buddhas ranged around the walls, is exceptional throughout.⁸⁸ The roof is slightly curved in section, with the effect of a cloister vault. There are two strongly marked borders parallel to the walls; between them, on a sort of cove surface, runs a continuous frieze of narrative scenes from the life of Buddha (in this respect remotely recalling the tunnel vault compositions of Kucha). Inside the inner border, in what is presumably an oblong field, is inscribed a big circle at the crown of the ceiling. Diagonal borders run up from the corners of the room, apparently to stop against the medallion. Much has been effaced, but there seems to be at least one recognizable "triangular" field, framed by circle, diagonal, and rectangular border, within which the discoverers saw something that looked like a

phoenix.⁸⁸ A date is perhaps given precisely by a stele now preserved in a nearby town, but said to have come from the site, which names the year 512.

A not much better known cave complex at the far northeast of the Wei domain is that of I-hsien in southern Manchuria.⁸⁹ The few caves here generally resemble the work done at Yün-kang in the last third of the fifth century, and are probably contemporary; the largest is ambitious enough to boast a central pier. It is the largely dilapidated, domical roof of the smaller Cave Number 2 which makes the site a memorable way-station in the passage of ideas. Unlike Wang-chia-k'ou, there are in this design no geometrical borders to satisfy the linear requirements of the "Dome of Heaven" formula; but the lotus fills a circle at the top, a small Bodhisattva stands in each corner, and on each major axis two smaller *devata* fly toward each other (Fig. 18). The Bodhisattva, to be sure, does not hold the circle, but prays with clasped hands as his function makes proper; but the *devata*, who elsewhere in Northern Wei art wheel, soar, or fall with no other discipline than their motion, here are set on each side as a stiffly confronted couple, curiously recalling the effect of the Egypto-Roman astronomical ceiling at Dendera.

Yün-kang, the earlier of the two great sites directly associated with the pious works of the Northern Wei court, adds little more than stylistic interest to our problem. The traditional Chinese coffered ceiling is imitated again and again, at various degrees of sculptural elaboration, ringing all possible changes on the theme of the celestial lotus and the *apsara* in flight.⁹⁰ Only in one limited field are foreign ideas admitted in a less diluted admixture. In several caves the cella is separated from a fore-chamber by a thick rock partition, pierced at two levels for a doorway and a big window above. Three of the most imposing caves, Nos. 9, 10, and 12, provide for the soffit of the deep window arch a relief composition which, with slightly different details, approaches the "Dome of Heaven" scheme as closely as does the ceiling at I-hsien. A big compound lotus fills the center; each corner of the outer square field has a divine being on one knee, reaching up to support the blossom with one or both hands; and a smaller "angel" flies across each of the intervening fields, to mark the other axes (Fig. 19).

Chinese willingness to take over entire ceiling compositions from a foreign source seems to have reached its height around the end of the fifth century, in the mature

88. Cf. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

89. Described in Japanese by Hamada S., "Ryōsai Giken no Sekkutsuji," *Hōun*, VIII, 1933; also in *Kokka* 510.

90. Yün-kang coffered ceiling treatments are summarized in Chinese and in schematic drawings both in the portfolio referred to in note 67 and in the Yün-kang article of note 78. Most complete photographs are in Shinkai and Nakagawa's album; the most revealing in Mizuno, *Unkoku Sekibutsugun*, Osaka, 1944.

87. Frequently illustrated; for example in *ibid.*, fig. 70 (and see pp. 120-121). Most complete photographs in vol. I (and of the Tachibana Shrine in III) of the series *Hōryūji-taikan*, Tōkyō, 1932.



FIG. 13. T'ung-kou, Three-Chambered Tomb: Interior of Third Chamber



FIG. 14. T'ung-kou, Three-Chambered Tomb: West Wall of Third Chamber, Detail of Painting

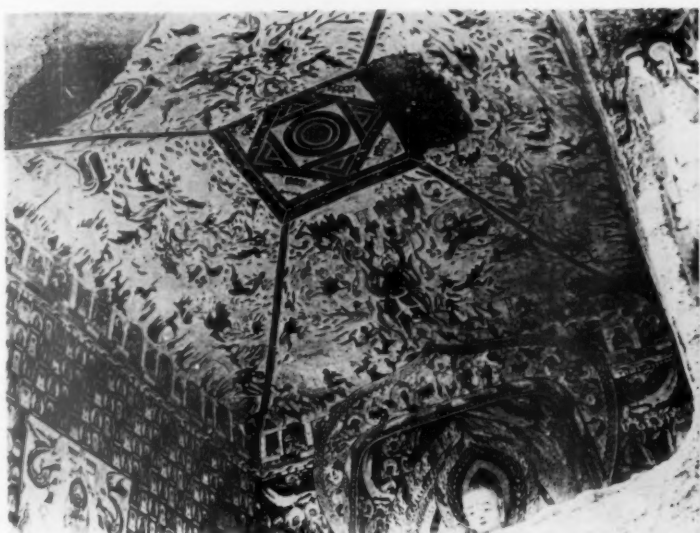


FIG. 15. Tun-huang, Cave 101: Ceiling



FIG. 16. Tun-huang, Cave 120 N: Ceiling

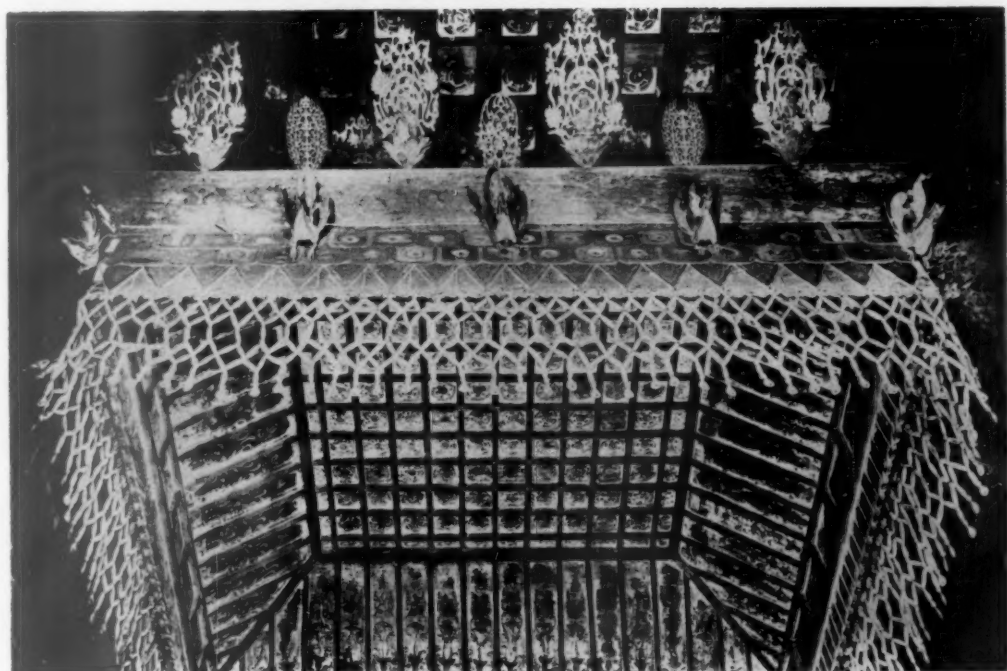


FIG. 17. Hōryūji Golden Hall: Canopy over Icon

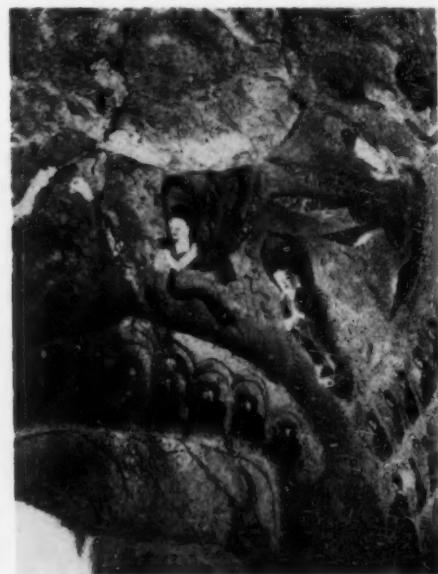


FIG. 18. I-hsien, Cave 2: Ceiling Detail

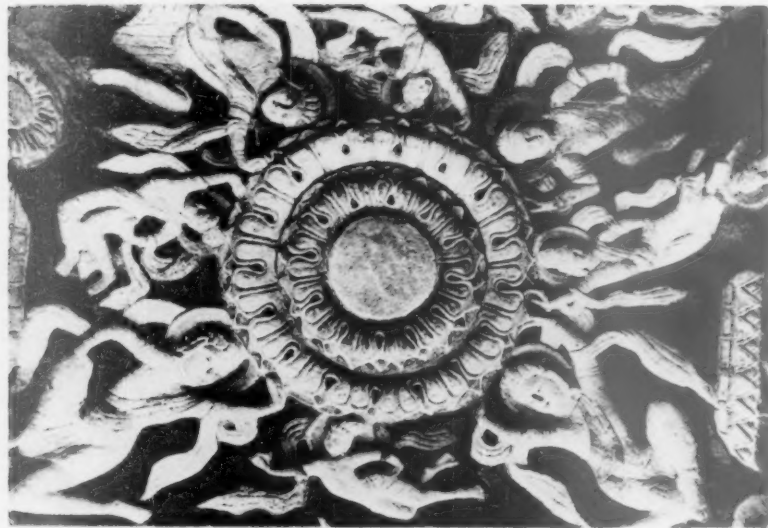


FIG. 19. Yün-kang, Cave 9: Soffit of Window between Chambers

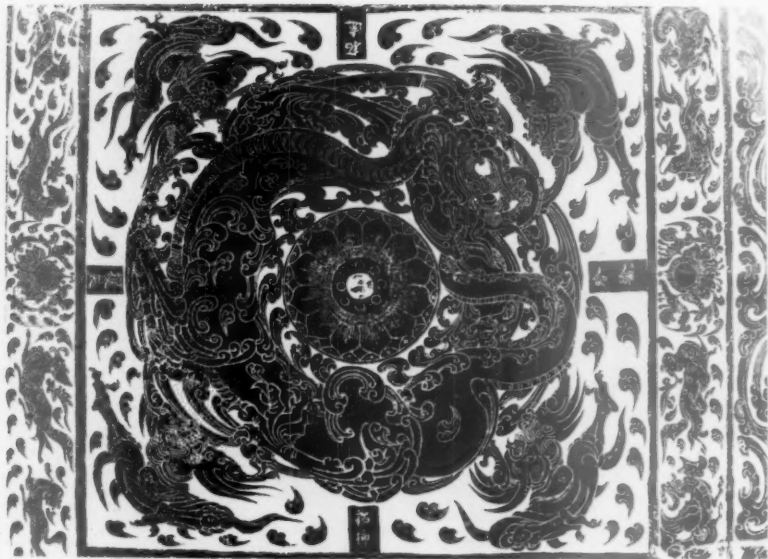


FIG. 20. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Top of Stone Cover to Mortuary Inscription of Lady Yüan, from Honan

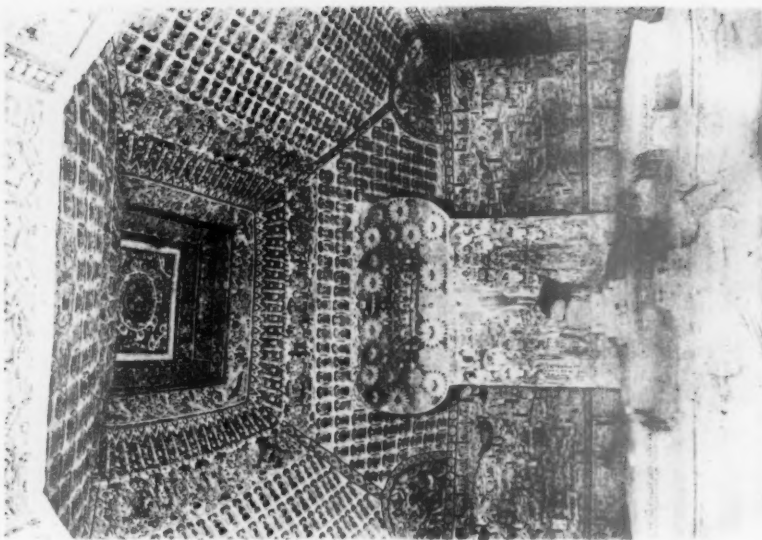


FIG. 21. Tun-huang, Cave 117: Interior

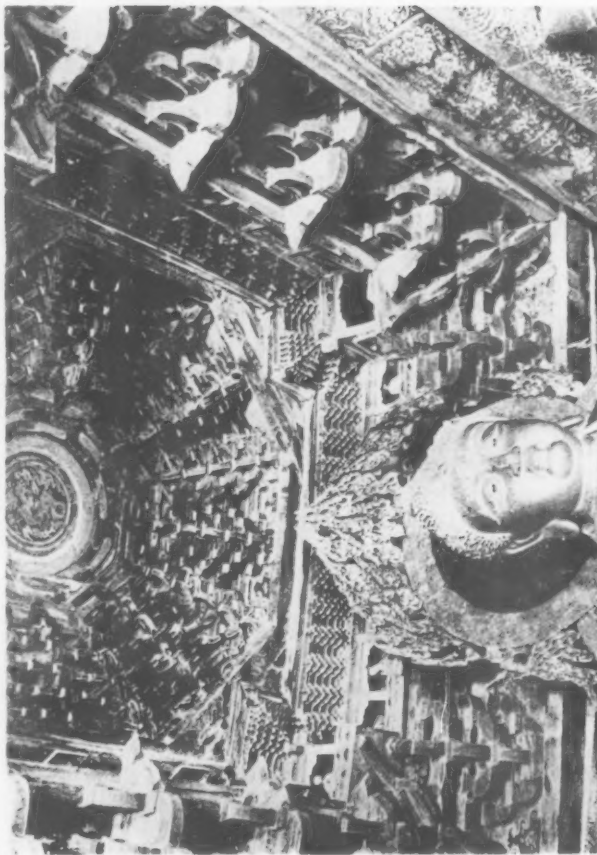


FIG. 22. T'ien-lung-shan, Fêng-shêng-ssü Rear Hall: Ceiling Detail

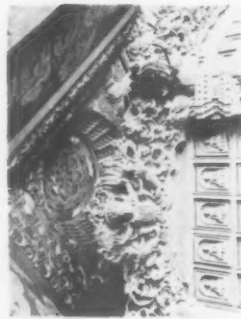


FIG. 25. Peking, Lung-fu-ssü Hall of the Three Bodhisattvas: Mandala over Central Icon

FIG. 23. Peking, Chih-hua-ssü Sūtra Treasury: Ceiling Detail

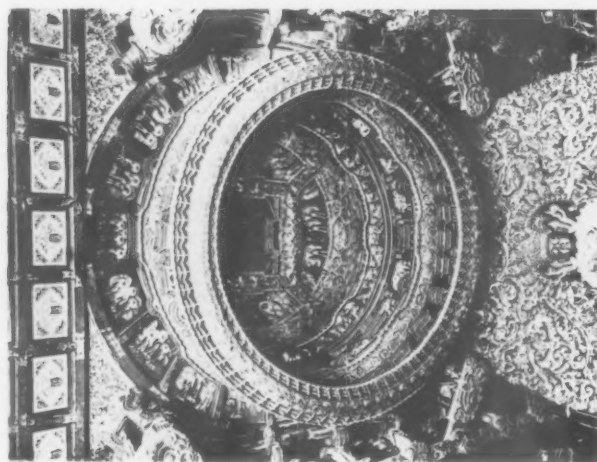
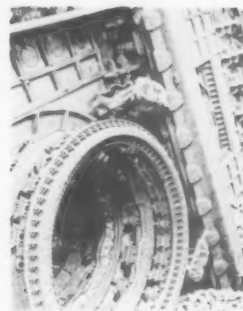


FIG. 24. Peking, Lung-fu-ssü Hall of the Three Bodhisattvas: Mandala over Central Icon

style of Yün-kang. The two cave sites that represent the transfer of the Wei régime to Lo-yang, and the rapid submergence of the remnant of Tartar cultural independence in an overwhelmingly Chinese environment both show a much greater resistance to alien ideas. At Kung-hsien the tradition of the flat, wooden ceiling is supreme, and only the coffer designs of flying "angels" and open lotus blossoms admit the existence of a new content.⁹¹ At Lung-mên the structure of the rock seems to have made it advisable to excavate caves of a more domical form, which — had the impulse existed — might readily have been used for some version of the imported iconography. Instead, the sophisticated taste of the last generation of Northern Wei apparently insisted on the adoption of a compromise more congenial to traditional Chinese aesthetic standards. The result is the antithesis of classical order, dynamic and fluid rather than static and subdivided. Not even a cornice between walls and ceiling remains; the haloes of the great icons flow upward far into the "vault," the tallest actually touching the grand central lotus.⁹² Around the latter sweep the host of "angels" in a swift, erratic current from rear to front; the epitome of Chinese linear animation in their drawn-out, anatomically fantastic bodies and long, streaming scarves. A completely Chinese consistency between cubical form and surface decoration is achieved at Lung-mên where at Tun-huang and in the Kokuli tombs we have seen the same impulse toward rapid motion obstructed by uncongenial architectural settings.

A recently discovered work of Northern Wei art in stone stands in much the same relation to primary evidence for ceiling design in North China of the Six Dynasties period as the Jain plaque from Mathurā may for its own age in India. The Chinese collections of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston now include a tomb memorial dated 522, found in Honan in the tomb of a Lady Yüan, who was probably the wife of a high official of the Tartar régime. The work takes the form of a mortuary tablet with a long inscription, and a separate, square cover.⁹³ On the latter's upper side is an incised design of remarkable beauty and individuality (Fig. 20). A small lotus at the center is enclosed by the convolutions of two dragons. The main axes outside the rough circle formed by the latter are stressed by small name cartouches, each with a two-character inscription; in each corner is a winged demon, shown with legs wide

apart in a kind of fearful prance, with his arms up to hold the circle. The wild agitation of the group, as well as its intended relation to the Heavens rather than to Earth, is emphasized by small, comma-shaped scudding cloudlets. Precise identification of subject is hampered by the unintelligibility of the cartouche characters. The dragons perhaps stand for the two great *naga* kings Nanda and Upa-nanda, who knot themselves around the World-mountain (the lotus is an accepted symbol of Sumeru); presumably the demons — four on the top surface, and eighteen spaced around the four sides of the stone — are some as yet unidentified group of frightful protectors of the Law. It is not hard to see the inscription cover as a kind of ceiling, and so to explain its design as an adaptation in miniature.

Chinese ceiling treatments posterior to the Northern Wei have for our present problem a less direct value. From the high point of decorative and iconographic interest manifest at the beginning of the sixth century, a marked recession is obvious even before the seventh. The T'ang caves of Lung-mên betray the relative indifference of their period by an abandonment of ceiling reliefs; presumably the surfaces were painted, but the ceiling fields were no longer considered important enough to require the monumentality of sculpture. At Tun-huang, so far as can be judged from the photographs available, one persistent formula sufficed, with very few exceptions, for all caves decorated from early T'ang down to the beginning of Sung. The space excavated is still the truncated pyramid. The canopy theme, which we have seen earlier in 101 and 120 N, is now expanded and enriched by sumptuous floral decoration; but the sloping planes below, in place of the airy fantasy of the sixth century, are filled with the monotony of the "thousand Buddhas" in their identical rows. In the tenth-century caves, where the ostentatious good works of the local ruling clan reached a climax of magnificence, the scheme has sufficient variation to be somewhat more interesting (Fig. 21).⁹⁴ The featureless anonymity of the "thousand Buddhas" is broken in critical areas by somewhat larger elements — a tier around the top, just under the canopy fringe, and Buddha groups below spaced formally on each side — so that the intention seems to have been to achieve something like the formal spacing of powers and manifestations and cosmic areas in a Mandala. In addition, as a reminder that the Chinese cultural complex in a fron-

91. Best photographs in Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina-bukkyō-shiseki*, II, pls. 105 ff. To stress the symbolism used, the cornice of the room is treated as a canopy fringe, surmounted by tiny divine beings, each seated on a lotus of Paradise.

92. See, for example, the photographs of the Lotus Cave in O. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, London, 1925, pls. 82-83.

93. Discussed in Japanese by Okumura I. in his personal publication *Urinasu*, Tōkyō, 1935, I, with particular reference to the stylistic evolution of dragon representation in China.

94. See Caves 8, 74, and 117 in particular. There may well be more than coincidence in the appearance of the Four Lokapalas in so emphatic a position in the cave arts both of tenth-century Tun-huang and Kirisch-simsim to the West. The new devotional prominence of these great Protectors is a well-known phenomenon of later T'ang Buddhism, coinciding with the greater military insecurity of the empire in an age of quarreling war-lords and barbarian raids on a grand scale. The phenomenon has been discussed in Japanese by Matsumoto B. in an essay for the Tōkyō Tōhō-bunka-kenkyūsho, "Tōbatsu-bishamon-kō," later reprinted in his *Bukkyō-shi-zakkō*, Tōkyō, 1944, pp. 273 ff.

tier station might still be vulnerable to exotic influence, each of the four corners of the room is treated as a kind of squinch, awkwardly adjusted to the straight lines and flat planes of the rest. Each squinch contains the aggressive, mailed figure of one of the Four Lokapalas, celestial rulers of the Four Quarters (shown as he might dominate the corner of a painted Mandala).

The canopy is brought more intimately into association with divinity at Tun-huang in the large niche at the back used to house the principal sculptured icons, where it typically decorates the coved ceiling.

Early remains of temple architecture proper, being wholly regulated by ancient habits of wood construction, show from the T'ang period on an even weaker survival of the original Western ceiling repertory than is visible at Tun-huang. Down to the tenth century preserved buildings in the Far East are all Japanese, and in that fact exhibit a conservatism probably greater than that adhered to in China in the same period. They entirely lack the feature of the wood-framed cupola, achieving the same honorific function by use of the canopy instead. A famous Japanese representative of the latter form, descendant of the simple hanging boxes of the Hōryūji Golden Hall, but immeasurably richer and more intricately fashioned, hangs over the altar of the eleventh-century Phoenix Hall, the Hōōdō, at Uji.⁹⁵ At the center of its soffit (which in turn imitates a coffered ceiling in miniature), the attached lotus is enlarged by openwork floral designs around the circumference. A canopy, preserved at Kanzeonji in Fukuoka Prefecture,⁹⁶ which probably was first composed in this same period, contains a unique detail by which its cosmological intention is made perfectly explicit: the bronze, eight-petalled lotus at its center radiates about a T'ang mirror whose entire design is a fitting-together of traditional Chinese space-and-time symbols, around the Buddhist World-mountain as a hub. We know from literary sources that contemporary Chinese were accustomed to set a "bright mirror" at the apex of a cupola over the god's image.⁹⁷ The two uses must have had the same intention. The mirror must have been chosen as a kind of intense focal point, doubly efficacious since it both brought together the signs of the universe in intelligible relationship, and reflected the light which was the purest symbol of all.

The earliest preserved temple buildings in China begin as a group only with the rival Sung and Liao dynasties.

95. Soper, *Evolution*, p. 204, fig. 111.

96. Illustrated in *Kanzeonji-taikan*, Tōkyō, 1934, pl. 46. The mirror is clearly of the same cosmological type as that discussed by S. Camman, "A Rare T'ang Mirror," *The Art Quarterly*, ix, 1946, pp. 93 ff.

97. The Chinese portfolio on Ceiling Treatments referred to in note 67 quotes specifications for cupola design from the Northern Sung architectural encyclopedia *Ying Tsao Fa Shih* in which this detail is specifically mentioned.

From then down to modern times, the remains of temple and palace architecture have shown a marked tendency to associate exceptional monumentality with the use of the wood cupola. The form has undergone the widest variation in scale and accessory details, as well as in geometric shapes.⁹⁸ The outer frame is usually a square, to conform to the rectilinear organization of the ceiling as a whole, and often passes through a transitional octagon to a crowning circle. Occasionally the transitional frames are more complex; sometimes, by playing on squares on the diagonal within other squares, they suggest a sophisticated modification of the old *Laternendecke*. Ornamental details are primarily architectonic, rich cornices of simulated structural bracketing which become more and more minutely detailed with the passage of style into Ming and Ch'ing. In more ambitious cupolas the architectural element may intrude as one or more tiers of miniature buildings. The Sung architectural encyclopedia of 1100, *Ying Tsao Fa Shih*, records a design in which the ribs of the final cupola spring from an octagonal storey with its own columns, doors, windows, and balcony.⁹⁷ Here, in Chinese terms, seems to be a restatement of the theme so often reiterated in the caves of Kucha and there borrowed from an Indian source: the continuous balcony of Paradise just below the springing of the vault, from which the gods look down approvingly on the acts of worship below. A somewhat later version of the idea in an extant building, the rear hall of Fêng-shêng-ssū on T'ien-lung-shan near T'ai-yüan-fu, completes the parallel by placing doll-like divine figures in the intercolumniations of the celestial verandah (Fig. 22).⁹⁹

The topmost field of the cupola — square, diamond-shaped, hexagonal, octagonal, or round — in Ming and Ch'ing examples is usually filled with the prime Chinese symbol of the sky, the painted or carved dragon (or with dragons in combination about the divine pearl). Triangular corner fields, sometimes merely floral, may repeat the ancient usage of the phoenix (and recall the *garuda* eagle of the West).

Two types of major exception to the cupola formula outlined above merit a brief, final mention. The Southern Sung culture, with its strong pictorial interest, developed a ceiling type for Ch'an Buddhist use in which the hall is enclosed by a single, perfectly flat plane, used as a field for painting. The practice is best known through its imitation down to modern times in the transplanted Zen sect of Japan.¹⁰⁰ Inside a great circular frame, the ceiling is painted (of course without the tricks of Baroque illusionism) as a

98. Representative examples from early Sung to Ch'ing are illustrated in the portfolio on Ceiling Treatments.

99. Illustrated in portfolio, pl. 10, and referred to p. 5 among "buildings of comparatively recent date."

100. Soper, *Evolution*, p. 244 and fig. 127. In Japan this type is called *kagami-tenjō*, "mirror ceiling," presumably because of its round frame.

kind of view into a dark and turbulent sky, crossed by the twisting bodies and fearful gaping heads of dragons. In the strongest contrast to such free suggestion, the introduction of Tibetan Lamaism into China by the Mongol conquerors brought about a revival of the tightly organized Mandala ceiling, now at its highest point of complicated abstraction. Since the current of Lamaism did not die out with the expulsion of the Mongols, signs of Tibetan Buddhist influences may be picked up here and there even during the nationalist revival of Ming, primarily in North China. Typical instances are given by two handsome and well-preserved establishments of the fifteenth century in Peking, Chih-hua-ssü and Lung-fu-ssü. The Mandala ceilings there are worthy of attention not only for their high quality and their historic importance in the long Chinese development, but also for the light that they shed on the practice of ceiling design in Tibet proper: a field which for want of information I have had to omit almost entirely from this study.¹⁰¹

The two-storey "Tathāgata Hall" of Chih-hua-ssü¹⁰² has in recent years lost to the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City an impressive dragon ceiling of Chinese type, laid out in an ingenious design of octagons and interlocked squares. The small *Sūtra* Treasury in the same temple retains a more modest composition in which the architectural details of the Chinese cupola tradition are used to frame a Tibetan Mandala painted on the circular soffit (Fig. 23). It is at Lung-fu-ssü that the two strains meet with most astonishing effect.¹⁰³ Over the main icon an extraordinary architectural complex both rises above and hangs below the surrounding flat ceiling, so that it suggests at once a cupola and a canopy (Figs. 24, 25). The details are the ornamental bracketing and the miniature palace buildings of the most ambitious cupola type, rendered at the finest scale. As they rise, tier on tier, and are finally transformed from circle

to square enclosure at the top, it becomes clear that they are the outer members, in three-dimensional projection, of the Mandala whose heart is painted on the flat boarding at the top. The interests of this paper make it highly gratifying that the outer, architectural rings should be accented on their diagonal axes by four mailed figures in the round, who stand on cloud brackets and raise their arms as if to support the last circular frame. Whatever the precise designation of the Mandala shown, these guardian Atlantids are certainly close kin to the Four Great Spirits of the Taizōkai. Their unique interest lies both in their late date, and in the fact that they represent a rare excursion of the "Dome of Heaven" iconography into the field of sculpture.

* * *

My Asiatic extension of Dr. Lehmann's thesis has been limited, by considerations of space and my own competence,¹⁰⁴ almost entirely to formal questions. The thoughtful reader may find many points at which a more philosophical analysis might be profitable. I wish, at the end, merely to outline the beginning of a broader analogy.

Our problem has been primarily one of contact and transmission of influence among three major cultures, the Graeco-Roman, the Indian, and the Chinese. My demonstration has stressed the effects of a celestial symbolism created in the Mediterranean world for use with the constructed dome, on ceiling treatments in the characteristic religious architectures of India and China. The examples adduced have shown both willing acceptance and obstinate resistance: the latter centering around traditional design in the two Asiatic countries which have seemed too perfectly adjusted to their environments to admit major modification. In contrast to the Western system of radial subdivision of the circle, with the further emphasis on axes created by the circumscribed square, we have seen Indian preference given to the concentric principle. The Chinese, normally contented with the gridiron coffering natural to their wooden ceilings, we have found the creators, in one moment of inspired escape, of a domical composition in movement, almost without fixed points.

The relationship between the Western system and our own inherited habits of thought is sufficiently familiar to require no insistence. Here stand methodical analysis, clear relationships among comparable entities, simple numerical values given a double coherence by aesthetic and scientific theory. In the Christian speculation that carried such mental processes to their highest degree of abstract elaboration, the supreme concept is a Trinity of persons of identical substance, who yet are One.

104. All consideration of the areas of Southeastern Asia, from Burma to Borneo, into which the flow of Indian religious art and architecture may have carried details of the "Dome of Heaven" tradition, is omitted here for lack of information.

101. Cave 182 at Tun-huang, apparently a new excavation of the Mongol period, is strongly Lamaist in the style and iconography of its ceiling design (see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pl. CCCXLIX). The cubical space is still a truncated pyramid, but now much lower in proportion to the area. Each of the four trapezoidal, coved surfaces bears a large icon assemblage around a Buddha. A much larger Buddha fills what looks like an oblong frame on the flat ceiling surface, with tiny figures spotted at the outside corners of his halo.

102. Subject of a monograph in Chinese, with the English title "The Ju-lai-tien of Chih-hua Ssü, Peiping," in *Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture*, III, 2, 1932.

103. Not thoroughly studied, so far as I know. L. C. Arlington and W. Lewisohn, *In Search of Old Peking*, Peking, 1935, p. 183, retail the information given in the most summary Chinese guides: that the temple was built in 1453, prospered through the patronage of the Ming house, and in the early eighteenth century was taken under the patronage of the Manchu Emperor, Yung Chêng, and restored. Without further investigation I should not care to say to which period the Mandala ceiling belongs; except that its extreme ingenuity, like that of the overpoweringly elaborate but still impressive icons below, seems better placed in the Ming than the Ch'ing.

Mahāyana Buddhism has also its characteristic Trinity in the doctrine of the Three Bodies of Buddha-hood. The Earthly Body by which the Savior reveals Himself among mankind, and which at one moment in human life was called Gautama, has its counterpart on a higher level in the heavenly Body of Bliss; while at a final remove from all limitations is the eternal, absolute Essence-body. The three might be likened (by a metaphor reversing the Mandala's) to three concentric circles, widening to infinity. In the same way Indian use of numbers differs from the Western. In our world a concept like "five" has the ideal validity anywhere of a radius capable of endless prolongation. To the religious imagination of India, certain numbers of a low order are associated with the here and now; the single, historic Gautama had ten great personal disciples. In an entirely different category are the numbers of religious myth, as they appear for example in the *sūtras* of Mahāyana; these start, perhaps, with a figure like 500 (the number of disciples of a fictitious minor teacher), and rise rapidly to a favorite like 84,000. It is impossible to imagine them as mathematical multiples of the quantities of everyday experience; no radii carry through. Supreme revelation, finally, is associated with unimaginable multiples of numerical concepts expressly created to serve the outermost rings of myth; comparable in their complete separation from human experience to the countless grains of sand in the Ganges.

The analogy suggested by Chinese ceiling treatments is more difficult to justify. The Chinese mind, it seems to me, has always vacillated between the contradictory ideals of discipline and freedom. The tightly enclosed social order of Confucianism is mirrored in the gridiron ground-plans of cities, and in the formal layout and orientation even of the private dwelling. One important side of Chinese re-

ligious speculation sought the same kind of order in things unseen, and so took comfort in the regular movements of the heavenly bodies, and the inevitability of the seasons.¹⁰⁵ This insistence on a simple, obvious pattern, the preference for the near, the familiar, and the clearly apprehensible, seem to me perfectly satisfied by the conventional Chinese ceiling, in the checkerboard reticulation of a flat plane. The other side of the Chinese mind, with its yearnings toward the faraway, the indefinite, and the incomprehensible, its impatience with any sort of restraint, was first summed up by Taoism, and achieved its final expression in landscape painting. As an ideal of personal freedom, not merely anti-social but deeply opposed to all the civilized works of man, it was at home only in the wilderness; under normal circumstances, architecture could serve it only as a symbol of entanglement. It was perhaps a unique accident, then, that the designers of the Lung-mên caves should have been at once liberated from the material and psychological restrictions of wood building, and stimulated by a faith transcending all human limitations. There, as perhaps at no other time, it was briefly possible to create a symbolic form that did satisfy the instinctive, irrational, anarchic side of the Chinese genius. If Western thought is pictured by the Euclidean geometry of the "Dome of Heaven," and Indian by concentric circles, the fluid, swift-moving freedom of the Lung-mên ceilings has its best parallel in the immemorial Chinese symbol of Yin and Yang: the circle divided by an S-curve into two areas whose relationship is one of incessant change; growth on one side balancing diminution on the other until completion brings a reversal.

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105. For fuller discussion see Soper, *Evolution*, pp. 14-17.

THE SARCOPHAGUS IN S. AMBROGIO AND ST. AMBROSE

ADOLF KATZENELLENBOGEN

THE famous sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio at Milan can claim an unusual importance among works of Early Christian art, not only because of its formal beauty and impressive austerity, not only because of the comprehensive and exceedingly interesting program of its sculptural decoration, but also because of the time and place of its origin.¹ The sarcophagus can be dated about 385-390 and must have been sculptured in or near Milan, since its marble had been identified as coming from a quarry in the neighboring Como.² It is important to realize that the sarcophagus was created in or near the city of which St. Ambrose had been elected bishop in 374. It is equally important to keep in mind that the sarcophagus originated in those momentous years when Milan was the new capital of the Western Roman Empire, and when Emperor Theodosius I, through his edict of 380, made Christianity the only legal religion in the empire.

It is the purpose of this study to examine the meaning

of the reliefs that decorate the four sides and the lid of the sarcophagus and to consider in the course of this investigation whether St. Ambrose could have devised the program of its rich sculptural decoration. If this possibility should prove to be a likely one, two other problems arise: (1) St. Ambrose was a staunch defender of the co-eternity and consubstantiality of Christ as God the Son with God the Father. He upheld this tenet against the followers of Arius, who at that time were once more threatening the orthodox belief. About 378-380, at the request of the Emperor Gratian, St. Ambrose wrote his treatise *De Fide* as a handbook against heretic beliefs. Later on he bravely opposed the attempts of Justina, the mother of Valentinian II, to renew the creed of Arius in Milan. It is therefore relevant to examine whether affirmation of the orthodox belief is not visibly stressed on the sarcophagus. (2) St. Ambrose had definite ideas about the equal rights of all the bishops as the successors of the twelve apostles who are prominently represented on the two main sides of the sarcophagus. Such ideas may very well have contributed to the shaping of the iconographical program of the sarcophagus.

The sculptural decoration of the sarcophagus seems to serve a twofold function: to stress visibly a dogma of general validity and, at the same time, to provide consolation for the deceased buried in the sarcophagus. The reliefs of the main sides and the narrow ends represent a basic dogma of the Christian religion, namely that the Church was prefigured in the Old Testament (reliefs on the narrow ends), that it was established by Christ (relief at the back) spread throughout the world (relief on the front), and was to last forever, while the lid illustrates the worship of Christ, founder of the Church, who is God and man. But at the same time, these representations seemed also to guarantee to the deceased salvation from death.

On the front, Christ stands on a rock from which four rivers flow (Fig. 1). He has raised His right arm and with His left hand gives the scroll of the new law to Peter. The apostle receives the gift, while he holds a cross over his shoulder. Paul stands at the other side of Christ and lifts his hand in the gesture of acclamation or praise. Peter and

1. The style of the city-gate sarcophagi of which the sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio is very likely the earliest and the most outstanding example has been analyzed by Marion Lawrence in a study that is fundamental for the understanding of Early Christian art: "City-Gate Sarcophagi," *ART BULLETIN*, x, 1927-1928, pp. 1 ff. For the discussion of the sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio, see also Marion Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West," *ibid.*, xiv, 1932, pp. 140, 173, 174; W. L. M. Burke, "A Bronze Situla in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library," *ibid.*, xii, 1930, pp. 168, 172; Giulio Belvederi, "Il sarcofago di Sant' Ambrogio," *Ambrosiana, scritti di storia, archeologia ed arte*, Milan, 1942, pp. 177 ff.; Hanns-Ulrich von Schoenebeck, *Der Mailänder Sarkophag und seine Nachfolge (Studi di antichità cristiana, x)*, Rome-Freiburg, 1935; Giuseppe Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929, I, text, pp. 41, 184.

2. Von Schoenebeck, *op. cit.*, p. 26. The *terminus ad quem* for the sarcophagus (ca. 390) may be deduced from the sarcophagus of Gorgonius in the cathedral of Ancona, obviously copied from the Milan sarcophagus and very likely made for the Gorgonius who was *comes rerum privatarum* in 386 and later on *praefectus praetorio* (Lawrence, "City-Gate Sarcophagi," p. 8). The *terminus a quo* (ca. 385) can be inferred from the fact that in 386 St. Ambrose dedicated the Church of SS. Protasius and Gervasius, later on known as S. Ambrogio. The sarcophagus was very likely in the adjoining cemetery, before it was put under the pulpit in the church. See von Schoenebeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 107, 115; Aristide Calderini, "Le basiliche dell'età Ambrosiana in Milano," *Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1942, p. 150.

Paul are followed by the ten other apostles. Some hold scrolls; others raise their hands in gestures similar to the one of Paul. The figures stand on a narrow stage that is terminated by a series of city-gates with a richly decorated arch in the center. The small figures of the deceased kneel at either side of Christ and are just about to embrace His feet with their hands. A lower frieze shows the same emphasis on a hieratic and centralized representation as the main relief. Twelve lambs approach in formal procession the *Agnus Dei* standing on a little mound. The last lambs on either side emerge from city-gates, the symbols of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

The highly ceremonial representation of Christ and the Twelve has its counterpart on the back of the sarcophagus where Christ, enthroned on the rock, teaches His disciples (Fig. 2). The deceased are represented here once more, kneeling near the *Agnus Dei* and the rock. City-gates on either side of an exedra, in front of which Christ sits, again form the background of the assembly.

Both scenes should, I think, be interpreted together. Their meaning is very likely derived from three sources: the gospels, Isaiah's prophecies, and the Book of Revelation. The gospel according to Matthew (5:1) relates how Christ went up on a mountain, sat down, and taught His disciples who had come to Him. It also reports that Christ sent out the eleven apostles from a mountain (28:16 ff.). Yet none of the gospels mentions that Christ gave the new law to Peter, and they cannot explain the presence of Paul in both scenes, since Paul became an apostle only after the ascension of Christ. Therefore no literal representation of specific gospel scenes could have been intended.

Matthew's gospel accounts for the motifs of Christ teaching His disciples and giving them their mission, but the meaning of the two scenes is enriched and generalized by another literary source, namely by the prophecies of Isaiah that predict the coming deeds of the Lord. An attempt to give an additional interpretation by writings of the Old Testament to the two scenes representing personalities of the New Testament seems to be justified. According to the gospels, Christ refers frequently to prophecies of the Old Testament, particularly to the predictions of Isaiah, so as to stress more strongly that His mission is only their fulfillment. In a similar manner Early Christian writers regarded prophecies as a weighty testimony for the truth of the Christian doctrine. Jerome, in commenting on Isaiah's prophecies, realizes his comprehensive function that transcends the time of the Old Testament, and sees in him not only a prophet, but also an evangelist and apostle.³ It is therefore not arbitrary to assume that Isaiah's prophecies in particular could have provided an important literary

3. "... sicque exponam Isaiam, ut illum non solum prophetam, sed evangelistam et apostolum doceam" (*Commentaria in Isaiam, prologus*, in *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 18).

source for the two scenes on the sarcophagus. Isaiah must have been regarded very highly by St. Ambrose, for he wrote a commentary on the prophet which, unfortunately, has not been preserved.⁴ Therefore the interpretation of Isaiah's prophecies has to rely in part on the famous commentary that St. Jerome composed from 408 to 410. When Augustine asked Ambrose for advice as to which book of the Holy Scriptures he should read, Ambrose suggested Isaiah, the reason for it being as Augustine supposes that Isaiah predicted the gospels and the calling of the gentiles more clearly than other writers of the Old Testament.⁵

Three prophecies of Isaiah about the salvation that the Lord shall provide seem to have primarily determined important elements of representation in the two scenes: Isaiah 2:3 predicts both the Teaching of Christ and the Mission of the Apostles. The prophecy can also explain the Giving of the Law, and the presence of Paul, as well as the motifs of the mountain and the city-gates. Isaiah 52:7-11 is relevant, because it predicts that the Lord will stand on the mountain, while the apostles are His witnesses. It also gives the gesture of the right arm of Christ a specific meaning at the very moment when the apostles are sent out into the world. Finally, Isaiah 66:12 may have suggested the representation of the four rivers emanating from the mountain on which Christ stands.

We read in the first of Isaiah's prophecies (2:3): "And many people shall go and say: 'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob and He will tell us His way.'"⁶ The fulfilment of this prophecy seems to be represented on the back of the sarcophagus, where Christ, seated on the mountain, teaches His way to the apostles. Significantly enough, Paul, the teacher, sits next to the book which Christ holds in this scene of teaching. The rest of the prophecy, frequently quoted by Early Christian theologians as foretelling the Mission of the Apostles,⁷ is then very likely the literary source for the relief on the front: "and we will walk in it," i.e., according to the exegesis given by Jerome on the identical prophecy of Micah 4:2: "in the apostles through

4. St. Ambrose refers to this commentary: "Quid sit autem in Jerusalem sisti Domino, dicerem, nisi in Isaiae commentis ante dixissem" (*Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. II, 56, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1654).

5. *Confessiones*, lib. IX, cap. 5 (*The Confessions of Augustine*, edited by John Gibb and William Montgomery, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 246, 247).

6. The text of Isaiah's prophecies is quoted according to the Septuagint, if not otherwise stated, since St. Ambrose must have used mainly this version: "Septuaginta virorum sententias magis sequitur ecclesia" (*Expositio in Psalmum*, CXVIII, 9.13, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1394).

7. See, for instance, Justin the Martyr, *Apologia*, lib. I, cap. 39, in *The Writings of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, II)*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 40; Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. IV, cap. 1 (*Patrologia Latina*, II, col. 390).

whom we believed in Christ."⁸ The prophecy of Isaiah continues: "for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem." Sion interpreted by Jerome as "the mount Sion on which Jerusalem is built,"⁹ is the mountain symbol on which Christ stands. "Jerusalem where the temple is and the religion of God"¹⁰ is represented by the series of city-gates. Isaiah predicts here a twofold event that seems to have found its reflection in the central group. "Out of Sion shall go forth the law." On the sarcophagus the new law is given to Peter who was entrusted with the organization of the Church; "and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem." It is given to Paul, the great teacher of the Gentiles. Thus the two closely related yet differentiated scenes on front and rear of the sarcophagus seem to be rooted in the two parts of the famous prophecy, in addition to the gospels.

The second prophecy of Isaiah (52:7-11) was likewise regarded by Early Christian writers as a prediction of the Mission of the Apostles. By its phrasing and by the manner in which it was explained in Jerome's commentary, it corresponds very closely to the relief on the front of the sarcophagus. Verses 7 and 8 can be related to the motif of Christ standing on the mountain between the apostles who witness and praise His work of salvation: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of one preaching glad tidings of peace, as one preaching good news: for I will make known thy salvation, saying: 'O Sion, thy God shall reign!' For the voice of them that guard thee is exalted and with the voice together they shall rejoice: for eyes shall look to eyes when the Lord shall have mercy upon Sion." Jerome states in his comment: "The voice of thy watchmen or guardians signifies the apostles of whom the Lord says elsewhere to the Church [Isa. 62:6]: 'Upon thy walls I have appointed watchmen, they shall never hold their peace'; they shall be mindful of the Lord and raise their voice, when they talk of sublime things."¹¹ Isaiah 52:9-10 can be related to the firmly established Church and to the gesture of Christ's right arm: "Let the waste places of Jerusalem break forth in joy together, because the Lord has had mercy upon her, and has delivered Jerusalem. And the Lord shall reveal His holy arm in the sight of all the

nations: and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation that comes from our God." "This makes it clear," says Jerome, "that when the spiritual Jerusalem, namely the Church, was erected by the apostles . . . the arm of the Lord is revealed to all the nations and that all the ends of the earth see His salvation."¹² Isaiah 52:11 finally predicts the actual Mission of the Apostles: "Depart ye, depart ye, go out from thence. . . ." Jerome relates this passage to the command that Christ gave to His apostles: "Go ye therefore and teach all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. 28:19).¹³

The last of the three prophecies of Isaiah (46:12) that seem to be relevant for the representation and the meaning of the reliefs may have determined the motif of the four rivers emanating from the mountain on which Christ stands: "Behold, I turn towards them as a river of peace, and as a torrent overflowing the glory of the Gentiles," to which St. Ambrose adds: "And who can doubt that the Son of God is the river of life from Whom the streams of eternal life flowed forth?"¹⁴ If related not to Christ, but to the Church, the four rivers may be taken as symbols of the four gospels as St. Ambrose says: "But the Church, having the four books of the gospels, overflows the whole world with the evangelists."¹⁵

One can interpret the two reliefs in a wider sense as complementary representations of the Church of Christ, as Jerome says in his comment on Isaiah 2:3: "But the Church which was founded at first in Jerusalem disseminated the Churches of the whole world."¹⁶ The close coherence of the two scenes is also formally stressed by the common motif of the city-gates. On the back, the establishment of the original Church is shown by the college of the apostles, as they are instructed by Christ in His doctrine. On the front, the universal Church is represented, as it will spread all over the world through the Mission of the Apostles. Only here the lambs, the symbols of the faithful and the objects of the mission, are represented. The two successive stages of the Church are also emphasized by the different facial types of Christ. On the back, at the time of the

8. "Et ambulemus in semitis ejus, in apostolis scilicet, per quos in Christum credidimus" (*Commentaria in Michaeam*, lib. 1, cap. 4, in *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, col. 1187).

9. ". . . de monte Sion, in quo aedificata est Jerusalem" (*Commentaria in Isaiam*, lib. 1, cap. 2, v. 3, in *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 45).

10. "et de Jerusalem, in qua templum est et religio Dei" (*loc. cit.*).

11. "Vox speculatorum, sive 'custodum tuorum,' apostolos significat, de quibus et in alio loco [62:6] ad Ecclesiam loquitur Deus: 'Super muros tuos constitui custodes, qui numquam tacebunt,' recordantes Domini, qui exaltabunt vocem de sublimibus disserentes" (*op. cit.*, lib. xiv, cap. 52, v. 8, in *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 519).

12. "Ex quo perspicuum est exstructa per apostolos spirituali Jerusalem, id est Ecclesia, . . . revelari brachium Domini cunctis gentibus et videre salutare ejus omnes fines terrae" (*op. cit.*, lib. xiv, cap. 52, vv. 9, 10, in *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 520).

13. *Op. cit.*, lib. xiv, cap. 52, vv. 11-13 (*Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 522).

14. "Quis autem dubitet flumen esse vitae Dei Filium, de quo aeternae vitae flumina profluebant" (*De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. 1, cap. 16, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 771).

15. "Sed Ecclesia, cum quattuor Evangelii libros habeat, per universum mundum evangelistis redundat" (*Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. 1, 2, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1613).

16. "Sed et in Jerusalem primum fundata Ecclesia totius orbis Ecclesias seminavit" (*Commentaria in Isaiam*, lib. 1, cap. 2, v. 3, in *Patrologia Latina*, xxiv, col. 46).

founding of the Church, Christ is youthful and does not wear a beard. On the front, at the later time of the spreading of the Church, Christ is characterized more impressively by a beard and by the symbolic difference in size between Him and the apostles. Commenting on Isaiah 2:3 Jerome writes: "And it is beautiful that he did not say: the word and the law of the Lord will be and remain in Sion and in Jerusalem, but proceed from there, thus signifying that all the nations will be watered from that fountain with the doctrine of God."¹⁷ This exegesis fits very well the four rivers that symbolize the four gospels and will water all the nations with the doctrine of God.

The interpretation of the two reliefs as complementary representations of the Church is corroborated by the additional reliefs on the ends of the sarcophagus. Apart from the group of four standing figures, they foreshadow in the realm of the Old Testament successive stages of the Church to come. These scenes, too, take place in front of city-gates and are therefore closely tied to the main sides by formal means.

On the right end (Fig. 3), a figure characterized as a Roman officer by *tunica*, *cingulum* and *paludamentum* stands between three companions. The two outer figures point with their right hands in the direction of Christ teaching the Twelve. It is difficult to explain who they are. Yet since the Roman officer resembles closely the representations of the deceased in the medallion of the lid as well as on the two main sides, the group might very well represent the deceased, as he is recommended by saints to the holy assembly of Christ and the apostles.¹⁸ Such an interpretation can be corroborated by a sarcophagus in the Museum of Arles, on which Christ, not unlike the figure on the Milan sarcophagus, teaches His disciples.¹⁹ Here, the main group is flanked by the deceased and his wife being recommended by saints. St. Ambrose visualized the nearness of the individual to interceding saints when he wrote: "Thou too hast those near thee to entreat for thee. Thou hast the apostles near, thou hast the martyrs near; if associated with the martyrs in devotion, thou drawest near them also by the work of mercy."²⁰ To the left of the Roman officer the Sacrifice of Isaac prefigures the founding of the Church by Christ's self-sacrifice. Isaac's father Abraham was, according to St. Ambrose, the first one to whom the Holy Church was promised.²¹

17. "Et pulchre non dixit: in Sion et in Jerusalem erit et manebit verbum et lex Domini, sed egredietur, ut de illo fonte omnes nationes doctrina Dei significet irrigandas" (*loc. cit.*).

18. This interpretation has been suggested by Marion Lawrence ("City-Gate Sarcophagi," p. 6).

19. Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi," fig. 10.

20. "Et tu habes proximos, qui pro te supplicent. Habes apostolos proximos, habes martyres proximos; si in ipsa martyribus devotionis societate, misericordiae quoque muneribus appropinques" (*De Viduis*, cap. 9, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 264).

21. "Vides igitur congregationes gentium et sacrosanctum Eccle-

On the left end (Fig. 4), the giving of the old law to Moses foreshadows the giving of the new law of the Church. Noah's ark is a prototype of the Church on earth. Ambrose stresses the importance of Noah as the ancestor of the builder of the Church.²² Finally, the Ascension of Elijah symbolizes the Church transferred into heaven, as St. Ambrose says: "Behold, Elijah is taken up in a chariot of fire, so will the Church be taken up."²³ Elijah, while being transferred, leaves his mantle to Elisha, his disciple (II Kings 2:11-13). He foreshadows thereby what Paul said of Christ: "Ascending on high he led captivity captive; he gave gifts to men" (Eph. 4:8). Underneath Elijah's horses the Temptation of Adam and Eve is represented. Thus the Ascension of Elijah implies also the triumph of the Church over the original sin. This idea is corroborated by the symbolic smallness of the Temptation scene.

Adam and Moses exemplify the two most important steps in the giving of the law, namely the giving of the natural and of the written law by Christ. "Since therefore the prerogatives of the natural law were corrupted and besmeared by inobedience," says Ambrose, "the written law was held necessary so that he who had lost everything should have at least a part."²⁴

That Moses, Noah and Elijah are represented together is not owing to mere haphazard, but seems to have deeper reasons. Each of them experienced the grace of the Lord, while being on a mountain. They are also related by numerical symbolism, as Ambrose points out.²⁵ Moses was with the Lord forty days and forty nights when he wrote on the tablets the Ten Commandments of the covenant (Exod. 34:28). Noah waited forty days in the ark on Mount Ararat for the waters to recede (Gen. 8:4-6). Elijah walked forty days and forty nights to Mount Horeb (I Kings 19:8). Moses, Noah and Elijah are related not only because they imply the giving of grace on a mountain after forty days. They are also related by the direction of their poses to the Mission of the Apostles where, forty days after His death, Christ on the mountain delegates His power to the apostles.

It is also another relationship of numbers which ties the *siae coetum oraculo divino huic [i.e., Abraham] esse primo promissum*" (*Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. III, 7, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1674).

22. "Noe quoque iusti inter Dominicas generationes commemoratio non debuit praetermitti: ut quia aedificator Ecclesiae nascebatur, eum sui generis auctorem praemisisse videatur, qui eam in typo ante fundaverat" (*op. cit.*, lib. III, 48, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1694).

23. "Ecce curru igneo raptus est Elias; rapietur et Ecclesia" (*op. cit.*, lib. II, 88, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1668).

24. "Ergo quia per inobedientiam praerogativa naturalis legis corrupta atque interlita est, ideo scriptum legis existimatum est necessarium, ut vel partem haberet, qui universum amiserat" (*Epistola LXXIII. 5 ad Irenaeum* in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 1306).

25. *De Noe et Arca*, cap. 13, 43, 44, in *Patrologia Latina*, xiv, col. 400.

reliefs of the two narrow ends more closely to the main sides. Either end shows six figures (if we disregard the small figures of Adam and Eve who symbolize evil): at the left are the three saints, the deceased, Abraham, and Isaac; at the right are Moses, Noah, Elijah, his disciple Elisha, and two other witnesses. Thus the twelve personalities of the Old Testament correspond in number to the two scenes with the twelve apostles and to the twelve lambs on the front of the sarcophagus.

The city-gates enclosing all four sides of the sarcophagus give unity of composition to the variety of scenes. At the same time, they give unity of meaning. It is again Isaiah's prophecies that can explain this motif. According to Isaiah 45:13, the Lord predicts that "He [i.e., Christ] shall build me a city," which in the interpretation of St. Ambrose is "spread throughout the whole world so that the whole earth might be full of His praise and His name."²⁶ It is the city of God, namely the Church.²⁷ "The Church, too, has its walls," says Ambrose, "of which a more perfect one tells: 'I am the fortified city' [Isa. 26:1]. This is the wall that has the twelve apostolic gates through which the entrance into the Church is open to all the nations."²⁸ If interpreted in this manner, the continuous series of city-gates may be considered as a symbol of the Church whose successive stages — prototypes, foundation, and spreading — are represented on the four sides.

But even the permanence of the Church after the end of time seems to be symbolized by the series of city-gates. For the prediction that Isaiah gave of the fortified city whose wall and bulwark is salvation (Isa. 26:1) will come true, according to the grandiose vision which John had of the "holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God, out of heaven" (Rev. 21:2). It is the city that has the twelve gates and twelve foundations, "and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the lamb" (21:14). Thereby the Book of Revelation becomes, as far as it fulfills the prophecies of Isaiah, a literary source for the relief on the front of the sarcophagus. It not only strengthens and specifies the truth of Isaiah's prophecies, but finds its visible reflection in the palm trees behind Peter and Paul: "On either side of the river, was there the tree of life" (22:2).

The corroboration of Isaiah's prophecy of the fortified city by John's apocalyptic vision has its parallel in the *Agnus Dei* standing on the mound on the front of the sar-

cophagus. Isaiah had urged the Lord: "Send forth, O Lord, the lamb, the ruler of the earth from Petra of the desert to the mount of the daughter of Sion" (Isa. 16:1, according to the Vulgate). And the Book of Revelation speaks of the appearance of this lamb at the end of the days: "And I looked and, lo, a lamb stood on the mount Sion . . ." (14:1).

The successive stages of the Church imply also the four epochs of world history, as St. Ambrose saw them, and the four cardinal virtues. They are exemplified by the Old Testament personalities on the narrow ends of the sarcophagus and by the two main reliefs. For St. Ambrose the first epoch, the time of prudence, lasted from the beginning of the world (Temptation) to the flood (Noah). The second epoch exemplified temperance and was the time of Abraham, Isaac, and other patriarchs. The third epoch stood for fortitude and was the time of the law of Moses and other prophets. The last epoch, the time of grace and justice, is shown on the sarcophagus by the establishment, the spreading and the permanence of the Church.²⁹

To represent all the stages of the Church and to give thereby an abridged history of the world could not have been accomplished by merely using any particular part of the Bible as source of inspiration for the subject matter. It was possible to achieve this aim only by a program that in an ingenious manner combines passages of the Old Testament with related passages of the New Testament that speak of the beginning of the Christian Church as well as of its permanence. Only by combining the prototypes, the realization and the apocalyptic vision of the Church could a visible testimony be given that is more powerful and comprehensive than a representation based only on the gospels. Isaiah seems to have played a prominent part in determining the manner of representation, since he predicted not only the establishing and the spreading of the Church, but also its eternal character. Jerome had realized very clearly, indeed, the comprehensive importance of Isaiah when he called him prophet, evangelist and apostle.

The program of representation for the four sides of the sarcophagus seems to reflect the grandiose ideological scheme in which St. Ambrose saw the gradational history of man's salvation. The Church, as it was at first prefigured in the Old Testament, as it was then established on earth by Christ, and as it will last forever, corresponds to the three terms which St. Ambrose uses: "Therefore at first the shadow preceded, the image followed, there will be the

26. "Hic aedificabit mihi civitatem, quae diffusa toto orbe terrarum fecit ut tota terra plena laudis ejus esset et nominis" (*Enarratio in Psalmum XLVII*, v. 10, in *Patrologia Latina*, XIV, cols. 1208, 1209).

27. "Civitas Dei Ecclesia est" (St. Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, 15.35, in *Patrologia Latina*, XV, col. 1496).

28. "Habet et Ecclesia muros suos, quae jam perfectior dicit: 'Ego civitas munita.' Hic est murus, qui habet duodecim portas apostolicas, per quas populo nationum patet ingressus in Ecclesiam" (*op. cit.*, 22.37, in *Patrologia Latina*, XV, col. 1601).

29. "Primum igitur tempus ex mundi principio usque ad diluvium prudentiae fuit. . . . Secundum tempus est Abraham et Isaac et Jacob reliquorumque numerus patriarcharum, in quibus casta et pura quaedam temperantia religionis effulsit. Tertium tempus est in Moysi lege et caeteris prophetis. . . . Non immerito igitur in his species fortitudinis est. Secundum autem Evangelium digna est figura justitiae quia virtus est in salutem omni credenti" (*De Paradiso*, cap. 3, in *Patrologia Latina*, XIV, col. 299).

truth: the shadow in the law, but the image in the gospel, the truth in heavens: the shadow of the gospel and of the congregation of the Church in the law, the image of future truth in the gospel, the truth in the judgment of God."³⁰ The meaning of the reliefs of the sarcophagus and their relation to each other cannot be better summarized than by the explanation that St. Ambrose gave to the terms of shadow, image and truth:

Therefore the shadow of what is now celebrated in the Church existed in the sermons of the prophets, its shadow existed in the flood. . . . But the shadow of the night and of the darkness of the Jews has vanished and there approached the day of the Church. Now we see in the image what is good and we hold the good of the image. We saw the prince of the priests come to us, we saw and we heard how He offered His blood for us. We follow, as best as we can, the priests. . . . But now we do not see Him: we will see Him then when the image has passed away and the truth will come. Then will be seen what is perfect, no longer through a glass, but face to face. Rise therefore, O man, to heaven and thou wilt see whose shadow or image was here; thou wilt see not in part, not in a dark manner, but in completeness; not in a veil, but in light. Thou wilt see the true eternal light and the perpetual priest whose image thou sawest here, and Peter, Paul, John, James, Matthew and Thomas.³¹

The two heads of a youthful Christ at the corners of the lid of the sarcophagus (Fig. 1) seem to set the *leitmotif* for the representations on the lid, namely the worship of Christ, the founder of the Church, who is God and man. Since the sarcophagus as a whole can be identified with the Church, the two heads at the corners may well symbolize the allegory of Christ being the cornerstone (Eph. 2:20). The figure scenes on the lid reflect very clearly the orthodox tenet about the Godhead and manhood of Christ, which St. Ambrose had stated very strongly in his treatise *De Fide*, when opposing the Arian belief in Christ being inferior in essence to God the Father, because He was, according to the Arians, created in time. "Before the creation of all the things then is the Son begotten"; St. Ambrose wrote, "within all and for the good of all is He made;

30. "Primum igitur umbra praecessit, secuta est imago, erit veritas. Umbra in lege, imago vero in Evangelio, veritas in coelestibus. Umbra Evangelii et Ecclesiae congregationis in lege, imago futurae veritatis in Evangelio, veritas in iudicio Dei" (*Enarratio in Psalmum XXXVIII*, v. 7, in *Patrologia Latina*, xiv, col. 1101).

31. "Ergo quae nunc celebrantur in Ecclesia, eorum umbra erat in sermonibus prophetarum: umbra in diluvio. . . . Sed jam discessit umbra noctis et caliginis Judaeorum, dies appropinquavit Ecclesiae. Videmus nunc per imaginem bona et tenemus imaginis bona. Vidimus principem sacerdotum ad nos venientem, vidimus et audivimus offerentem pro nobis sanguinem suum: sequimur, ut possumus, sacerdotes. . . . Sed nunc eum non videmus, tunc videbimus, cum imago transierit, veritas venerit. Tunc jam non per speculum, sed facie ad faciem ea quae sunt perfecta videbuntur.

"Ascende ergo, homo, in coelum et videbis illa quorum umbra hic erat vel imago; videbis non ex parte, non in aenigmate, sed in consummatione; non in velamine, sed in luce. Videbis verum lumen aeternum atque perpetuum sacerdotem, cuius hic imagines videbas, Petrum, Paulum, Joannem, Jacobum, Matthaeum, Thomam" (*loc. cit.*, cols. 1101, 1102).

begotten of the Father, above the law, brought forth of Mary, under the law."³²

On the front of the lid (which unfortunately was reversed when it was put on the trough), the central medallion with the busts of the deceased couple is held by two angels and framed by two scenes (Fig. 2). To the right, the three Magi bring, according to St. Ambrose: "gold to the king, incense to the god, and myrrh to the defunct," thereby stressing the divine and human nature of Christ.³³ In order to prove the co-eternity of God the Son and God the Father, St. Ambrose wrote:

Therefore he [Isaiah] says: "A child is born, a son is given to us" [9:6]. The Magi saw this, too, and therefore they worshipped Him when they looked at the little One in the stable and said: "A child is born," and when they beheld the star declared: "A son is given to us." On the one hand, a gift from earth — on the other, a gift from heaven — and both are One Person, perfect in respect of each, without any changeableness in the Godhead, and without any weakening of His human nature. One person did the Magi adore and to one and the same they offered their gifts to show that He who was seen in the stall was the Lord of heaven."³⁴

The Adoration of the Magi is prefigured by the scene of the three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar, who refuse to adore the golden image, but turn instead to the star.

The ends of the lid enlarge and re-emphasize the idea of Christ being worshipped as man and God. One side shows the human nature of Christ, namely the child, or Christ in the flesh, "brought forth of Mary," as He is adored by ox and ass, according to Isaiah 1:3: "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib" (Fig. 4). These animals symbolize, as St. Ambrose said, the ignorant Gentiles who live like animals in a stable.³⁵ The other side shows the

32. "Ante omnia ergo generatio, inter omnia et propter omnia creatura. Natus ex Patre supra legem, factus ex Maria sub lege" (*De Fide*, lib. III, cap. 9, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 627).

33. "Quae sunt ista verae fidei munera? Aurum regi, thus Deo, myrrha defuncto; aliud enim regis insigne, aliud divinae sacrificium potestatis; aliud honor est sepulturae, quae non corrumpat corpus mortui, sed reservet" (*Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. II, 44, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1650). That the relation of the prophets, the apostles and the Magi is proof of one God is stressed by St. Ambrose in another passage: "Unum Deum prophetae dicunt, apostoli audiunt. Unum Deum Magi crediderunt et aurum, thus et myrrham supplices ad Christi cunabula detulerunt, auro regem fatentes, ut Deum thure venerantes. Thesaurus enim regni, sacrificium Dei, myrrha est sepulturae" (*De Fide*, lib. I, cap. 4, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, cols. 557, 558).

34. ". . . et ideo ait: 'Puer natus est, Filius datus est nobis.' Viderunt et Magi et ideo cum parvulum in praesepe cernerent, adoraverunt dicentes: 'Puer natus est'; cum stellam conspicerent, praedicantes: 'Filius datus est nobis.' Aliud munus e terris, aliud munus e coelo, et utrumque unus in utroque perfectus, et sine mutabilitate divinitatis et sine humanae immutatione naturae. Unum adoraverunt eidemque munera obtulerunt, ut ostenderent ipsum esse coeli Dominum, qui in praesepebibus videretur" (*De Fide*, lib. III, cap. 8, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 625).

35. *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. II, 43 (*Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1650).



FIG. 1. Milan, S. Ambrogio: Front of Sarcophagus



FIG. 2. Milan, S. Ambrogio: Back of Sarcophagus



FIG. 3. Milan, S. Ambrogio: Right End of Sarcophagus

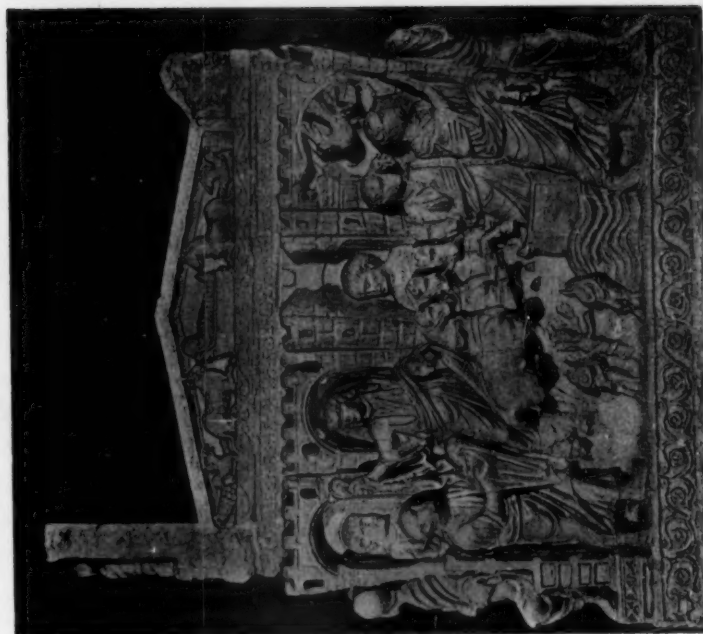


FIG. 4. Milan, S. Ambrogio: Left End of Sarcophagus



divine nature of Christ by a mere symbol of His Godhead ("before the creation of all things, then, is the Son begotten"): the sign of Constantine between the doves and the Alpha and the Omega stressing the eternity of Christ (Fig. 3). Isaiah had predicted it of the Lord: "I am the first and I endure for ever" (48:12) and John had stressed it anew: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, saith the Lord God, who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty" (Rev. 1:8).

The representational elements that form the decoration of the lid are by no means exceptional or new. They can be found on other sarcophagi, but as far as I know, never in their entirety. Only the lid of the Milan sarcophagus gives a truly comprehensive illustration of the Godhead and manhood of Christ, thereby reaffirming the orthodox belief in the homoousia of God the Son and God the Father.

The all-inclusive and highly ceremonial representation of the Church in its successive stages might have been considered by the person who commissioned the sarcophagus as a visible guarantee of salvation. Was he not a member of the Church and could he not thereby participate in the grace accorded by it? Yet the individual motifs that make up the complex program of representation assume also a very personal meaning for the deceased. Isaac on the altar, Noah in the ark are well-known symbols of salvation. Peter who holds the cross over his shoulder is an example of true discipleship even at the expense of martyrdom, as Christ had said: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (Matt. 16:24). And Peter himself had told Christ: "I will lay down my life for Thy sake" (John 13:37). But the other elements also have a very personal meaning for the deceased, if we follow the ideas of St. Ambrose.

He explains the importance that the giving of the law and the Church assume for every Christian. Of the law he says:

There is equity in the law, if thou acceptest the spiritual law, if thou risest with Christ . . . and beholdest that Jerusalem which is in heaven, not the one which was inhabited by the Jewish people on earth, which was conquered triumphantly by the army of the Romans, because of the perfidy of its inhabitants, and which went up in flames from the torch thrown into it. If thou beholdest the prince of the priests of whom is written: "Seeing then that we have a great high priest who came out of the heavens, Jesus the son of God, let us hold fast our confession of faith" (Heb. 4:14).³⁶

36. "In lege aequitas est, si spiritualement accipias legem, si consurgas cum Christo . . . , si illam Jerusalem spectes quae in coelo est, non istam quae a populo Iudaeorum frequentabatur in terris, quae propter incolarum perfidiam a Romano exercitu triumphata injecto flagravat incendio. Si intuearis in illum principem sacerdotum, de quo scriptum est: 'Habentes itaque magnum sacerdotem egressum de coelis, Jesum, Filium Dei, teneamus confessionem fidelem' (Heb. 4:14)." See *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, 21.14 (*Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1585).

In the next passage, St. Ambrose's imagery resembles closely the representation of Christ among the apostles in front of the gates of Jerusalem: "For He is the only prince of the priests and close to him stand the pious priests who have entered that heavenly and highest sanctuary by virtue of their own martyrdom."³⁷ On the relief Peter carries the cross over his shoulder, thereby symbolizing that he has entered the heavenly Jerusalem because of his martyrdom. And of the word St. Ambrose says: "Who has the word of God has great spoil. He has the resurrection."³⁸

How important it is for the individual to have kept the law and to have followed the gospel, because only then can he hope to be admitted to the kingdom of heaven, is emphasized by St. Ambrose in a very intimate and moving passage of his sermon on the death of Theodosius, where he describes the questioning of the soul by angels:

And so the pious soul, departing from earth and filled with the Holy Spirit, when questioned, as it were, by those who hastened to meet it, while it ascended to the high and supernatural regions, said: "I have loved." Nothing is fuller than this, nothing is more definite. Angels and archangels were questioning: "What hast thou done on earth?" For God is the sole witness of secret things. The soul kept saying: "I have loved," that is to say, "I have fulfilled the law, I have not neglected the gospel."³⁹

Seen in this context the traditional motif of two angels holding a medallion with the busts of the deceased assumes a specific meaning.

Christ standing on the rock from which four rivers flow promises salvation directly to the individual, if we follow again a mystic interpretation given by St. Ambrose: "Drink Christ," he says, "because He is the rock that gives water; drink Christ, because He is the fountain of life. Drink Christ, because He is the river whose vehement flow makes glad the city of God. . . . Drink therefore quickly so that a great light may shine for thee, not the everyday light, not the light of the day or of the sun or of the moon, but that light which excludes the shadow of death."⁴⁰ Could

37. "Ille ergo princeps solus est sacerdotum, cui astant pii sacerdotes, in coelestium sacrarium illud altissimum merito proprii crucis ingressi" (*loc. cit.*).

38. "Multa habet spolia, qui habet Dei verbum. Habet resurrectionem" (*Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, 21.12, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1584).

39. "Ergo discedens e terris pia anima et sancto repleta Spiritu, quasi interrogantibus iis, qui sibi occurrerunt, cum sese ad sublimia et superna subigeret, dicebat: 'Dilexi.' Nihil hoc plenius, nihil expressius. Interrogabant angeli vel archangeli: 'Quid egisti in terris?' occultorum enim solus cognitor Deus. Dicebat: 'Dilexi,' hoc est dicere, 'legem implevi, evangelium non praeterivi'" (*De Obitu Theodosii Oratio*, 18, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 1454).

40. "Bibe Christum, quia petra est, quae vomuit aquam; bibe Christum, quia fons vitae est; bibe Christum, quia flumen est, cujus impetus laetificat civitatem Dei. . . . Bibe ergo cito, ut lux tibi effulgeat magna; lux non quotidiana, non diei; non solis, non lunae, sed lux illa, quae umbram mortis excludat" (*Enarratio in Psalmum I*, v. 2, in *Patrologia Latina*, xiv, cols. 983, 984).

one not say that ideas like these explain why, within a highly ceremonial composition, the deceased are allowed to be so close to Christ and to the rock with its rivers?

St. Ambrose considers the rock and the gates as symbols of salvation when the individual has to make his decision between the Church and its grace on one side, sin and death on the other side. "Do strive," St. Ambrose says, "that thou too art the rock. Therefore seek the rock not outside thee, but within thee. Thy rock is work, thy rock is the mind. On this rock is built thy house so that it cannot be shaken by onslaughts of spiritual villainy. Thy rock is faith, the foundation of the Church is faith. If thou art the rock, thou wilt be in the Church, because the Church is on the rock. If thou art in the Church, the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee [Matt. 16: 18]. The gates of hell are the gates of death; but the gates of death cannot be the gates of the Church."⁴¹ Could one not say that "the gates of the Church" surrounding the sarcophagus enclose firmly and protect those who are buried in it, so that the gates of hell cannot prevail against them?

An interpretation of the very intimate gesture of the deceased who are just about to embrace the feet of Christ comes from another passage of St. Ambrose: "Let us seek Him at the end of time and let us embrace His feet and adore Him so that he may say also to us: 'Fear not ye' [Matt. 28: 5], that is, fear not ye the world's sins. Fear not ye the world's iniquities; fear not ye the vehement flow of the body's passion. I am the remission of sins; fear not ye darkness, I am the light; fear not ye death, I am the life."⁴²

The sarcophagus with its sumptuous decoration on all four sides must have been made for a very prominent personality. In its complex program many elements are combined into a tightly drawn, extremely lucid and essentially new meaning that serves to glorify the Church as such and its importance for the deceased. Since so many passages of St. Ambrose's writings seem to explain the meaning, it is, indeed, tempting to assume that he devised the program to be represented. The probability that St. Ambrose was responsible for the program of the sarcophagus can also be strengthened by other considerations: (1) Ambrose took

an active interest in the subject matter of religious art by composing tituli for church decoration;⁴³ (2) the Old Testament scenes on the sarcophagus can be interpreted in a threefold manner, according to St. Ambrose's method of exegesis, namely literally, morally, and mystically.⁴⁴ When interpreted this way, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, and Elijah are, taken literally, personalities of the Old Testament. Interpreted morally, they exemplify salvation because of their virtues. Interpreted mystically, they prefigure the Church to come.

The sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio stresses emphatically the importance of all twelve apostles. They are represented twice and thereby especially honored. Other sarcophagi of the city-gate and related types that stem from the Milan sarcophagus likewise represent, although sometimes in a more reduced manner, the Mission of the Apostles.⁴⁵ None of them, however, also has the scene of Christ teaching His apostles, even when all four sides are carved. While the Milan sarcophagus differs in intensity, so to speak, from related sarcophagi, it differs even more strongly from those sarcophagi on which the motif of Christ delegating His power is restricted to the Lawgiver between Peter and Paul. The earliest preserved example of this type that can be dated with certainty is the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus carved in Rome about 359.⁴⁶

Why, we might then ask, are the twelve apostles honored on the Milan sarcophagus by a twofold representation?

43. Von Schoenebeck, *Der Mailänder Sarkophag*, pp. 121-123.

44. See *Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII*, 1.3 (*Patrologia Latina*, xv, cols. 1264, 1265).

45. The whole group of the Twelve is represented in the Mission scene of the city-gate sarcophagi in the Louvre (Lawrence, "City-Gate Sarcophagi," fig. 1) and in S. Sauveur, Aix (*ibid.*, fig. 19). See also the sarcophagi in S. Paolo f.l.m. (Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi," fig. 50) and in the Museum of Marseilles (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. xvii, 2). Only ten apostles are present on the sarcophagus of Gorgonius in the Cathedral of Ancona (Lawrence, "City-Gate Sarcophagi," fig. 9) and on the sarcophagus in the Colonna Chapel of St. Peter's (*ibid.*, fig. 15). The group is reduced to four on two related sarcophagi in the Museum of Arles and in the Grotte Vaticane in Rome (Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi," figs. 1, 2).

46. Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi," fig. 40. Christ is here enthroned, while Peter lacks the cross. This type of representation seems to have been derived from a secular *largitio* scene, such as the one on the arch of Constantine. On the related sarcophagus 174 of the Lateran Museum, two additional apostles flank and emphasize Christ (*ibid.*, fig. 34). Their secular ancestors seem to be the two attendants usually flanking the emperor on Roman reliefs. See also the following Roman examples: fragments in the Lateran (Lawrence, "City-Gate Sarcophagi," fig. 25) and the sarcophagi formerly in the Vatican cemetery (*ibid.*, fig. 26), in the Grotte Vaticane (Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi," fig. 33), in the Lateran Museum (*ibid.*, fig. 6), and in S. Sebastiano (Alexander Coburn Soper, "The Latin Style on Christian Sarcophagi of the Fourth Century," *ART BULLETIN*, xix, 1937, pp. 148 ff., fig. 46). For provincial examples, see the sarcophagi in S. Maximin (Lawrence, "City-Gate Sarcophagi," fig. 24), formerly in S. Nicaise in Reims (*ibid.*, fig. 27) and in S. Giovanni in Valle, Verona (*ibid.*, fig. 28).

41. "Enitere ergo ut et tu petra sis. Itaque non extra te, sed intra te petram require. Petra tua actus est, petra tua mens est. Supra hanc petram aedificatur domus tua, ut nullis possit nequitiae spiritualis reverberari procellis. Petra tua fides est, fundamentum Ecclesiae fides est. Si petra fueris, in Ecclesia eris, quia Ecclesia supra petram est. Si in Ecclesia fueris, portae inferi non praevallebunt tibi. Portae inferi portae mortis sunt; portae autem mortis portae Ecclesiae esse non possunt" (*Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, lib. vi. 98, in *Patrologia Latina*, xv, col. 1781).

42. "Nos eum in temporum fine quaeramus et complectamur pedes ejus et adoremus eum, ut dicat et nobis: 'Nolite timere,' id est, nolite timere a peccatis saeculi, nolite timere ab iniquitatibus mundi, nolite timere a fluctibus corporalium passionum, ego sum peccatorum remissio: nolite timere a tenebris, ego sum lux: nolite timere a morte, ego sum vita" (*De Bono Mortis*, 57, in *Patrologia Latina*, xiv, cols. 595, 596).

And why, unlike the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, for instance, is no exclusive emphasis given here to Peter and Paul, the traditional patron saints of Rome? In the first place, the Christian religion was made the religion of the state in 380. Since Christianity could at that time spread victoriously throughout the empire it was very appropriate to represent on the sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio not only Christ with Peter and Paul, but also the Mission of the Twelve Apostles who had once founded churches all over the world. Their task could now successfully be completed. Secondly, the tendency to twice honor the whole college of the apostles seems to reflect the very definite ideas that St. Ambrose had of the rights of all twelve apostles and of the bishops, their successors.

Not unlike Cyprian, bishop of Carthage about the middle of the third century, St. Ambrose did not grant the Roman bishop exclusive authority as the successor of Peter. Even as spokesman for the Roman bishop during the council of Aquileia in 381, St. Ambrose took this attitude, although he was accused by the deposed Moesian bishop Palladius of being a Roman partisan. In an appeal that St. Ambrose then made to the Emperor Theodosius on behalf of the Council, he declared that it was not only the Roman Church he wanted to see protected, but equally so the most holy faith of the apostles, "because the rights of the venerable communion flow from these into all."⁴⁷ In a letter written in the following year he expressed a similar view. Quite obviously he regarded the Roman Church only as the first among equals, when he stated that the appeal of the deposed bishops should be directed not only to the Church of Rome, but also to the Church of Italy and of the whole world.⁴⁸

St. Ambrose strongly emphasized the equal rights of all the bishops as the successors of the apostles. That Milan had become the capital of the Western Roman Empire may have strengthened his attitude. St. Ambrose did not minimize the importance of Peter. He saw in him the leader of the whole Church, yet not the founder of a special sacerdotal office in Rome which thereby might claim exclusive rights. "Therefore where Peter is there is the Church,"⁴⁹ he wrote, but he defined very precisely the primacy of Peter: "He held the primacy, but only the primacy of con-

fession, not of honor; the primacy of faith, not of rank. . . . This is Peter who answered for the other apostles, or rather before the others did so; and therefore he is called foundation because he knew how to preserve not only what was his own, but also what is common to the others."⁵⁰ And St. Ambrose made it clear that Peter was not given exclusive power, but that this power was shared by all the apostles: "The Lord gave to His apostles what was before part of His judicial power, namely to absolve from sins by the equity of remission so that what was absolved quickly may not remain bound for a long time. Finally hear His words: 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. . . .' What is said to Peter is said to the apostles. We do not usurp a power, but obey a command."⁵¹ Elsewhere Ambrose says: "Likewise it seemed impossible to remit sins by penitence. Christ granted this to His apostles [John 20: 22] and it was transmitted by them to the office of the bishops."⁵² Similar is another statement: "And one and the same work of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is not only found in Peter, but the unity of divine operation is also revealed in all the apostles, as is, so to speak, the authority of the divine constitution."⁵³ The opinion of Gaudentius of Brescia, a suffragan of St. Ambrose, is even more radical. In a sermon delivered during a provincial synod in which St. Ambrose participated, Gaudentius compared the bishops, who were present, with the college of the apostles as they met in Caesarea Philippi. St. Ambrose even appeared to him as the successor of Peter, who like the apostle will say what everybody feels. Gaudentius argued that because of Judas Christ could not give the keys of heaven to all the disciples. Yet they were not neglected; they received — at first through Peter, and later directly — the same power.⁵⁴

The front of the Milan sarcophagus conforms to the ideas of St. Ambrose. Although Peter receives authority, he does not obtain it for himself, but as the leading member

50. ". . . primatum egit: primatum confessionis utique, non honoris; primatum fidei, non ordinis. . . . Hic est Petrus, qui respondit pro caeteris apostolis, imo prae caeteris; et ideo fundamentum dicitur, quia novit non solum proprium, sed etiam commune servare" (*De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento*, 32, 33, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, cols. 861, 862).

51. "Ideo Dominus, quod ante erat iudicii sui, dedit apostolis peccata remittendi aequitate solvenda, ne cito solvenda, diu ligata manerent. Denique audi dicentem: 'Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum. . . . Quod Petro dicitur, apostolis dicitur. Non potestatem usurpamus, sed servimus imperio. . . .'" (*Enarratio in Psalmum XXXVIII*, v. 14, in *Patrologia Latina*, xiv, col. 1108).

52. "Similiter impossibile videbatur per poenitentiam peccata dimitti; concessit hoc Christus apostolis suis, quod ab apostolis ad sacerdotum officia transmissum est" (*De Poenitentia*, lib. II. 12, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 520).

53. "Nec solum una operatio in Petro Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti invenitur, sed etiam in omnibus apostolis divinae operationis unitas revelatur et quaedam supernae constitutionis auctoritas" (*De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. II. 148, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 806).

54. *Sermo XVI* (*Patrologia Latina*, xx, cols. 958, 959).

47. ". . . tamen totius orbis Romani caput Romam Ecclesiam atque illam sacrosanctam apostolorum fidem ne turbari sineret, obsecranda fuit clementia vestra; inde enim in omnes venerandae communionis jura dimanant" (*Epistola XI*, 4, in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 986). For the attitude of Ambrose toward the importance of Peter, see F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, Oxford, 1935, II, pp. 639-642, and Hans Freiherr v. Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker* (*Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte*, xii), Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, pp. 98-128.

48. *Epistola XIII*, 4 (*Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 992).

49. "Ubi ergo Petrus, ibi Ecclesia: ubi Ecclesia, ibi nulla mors, sed vita aeterna" (*Enarratio in Psalmum XL*, v. 10, in *Patrologia Latina*, xiv, col. 1134).

of the Twelve. Only Peter and Paul are individualized in the reliefs by their facial types, yet the other apostles are called likewise to fulfill the same mission. The idea corresponds to St. Ambrose's statement: "Who are those that evangelize, if not Peter, if not Paul, if not all the apostles?"⁵⁵ In this connection the allegory of the lambs on the lower frieze gains additional significance. They are the symbols of the faithful among Jews and Gentiles. They correspond in number to the apostles above them. Each lamb is thereby related to one apostle so that the task of feeding the lambs, which Christ had once confided to Peter [John 21: 15-17], is now considered not as the sole right of Peter, but as entrusted to all the apostles.

A story from the life of St. Ambrose as Landolfo the Elder reports it is also relevant: St. Simplicianus had brought to St. Ambrose small relics of Peter and Paul, whereupon St. Ambrose collected "eagerly with the greatest joy and gladness" the relics of all the other apostles which he deposited in the church he then built and dedicated to the apostles.⁵⁶ If Landolfo's report is true, then Ambrose was not satisfied with having the relics of only the two patron saints of Rome, and endeavored to guarantee the worship of all the apostles in the church he wanted to build. That he added other relics to those of Peter and Paul may correspond to the adding of the other apostles to Peter and Paul on the sarcophagus. But even if Landolfo's story were the fruit of his imagination, it is interesting for the very reason that the writer of the late eleventh century invented a story that conforms with Ambrose's ideas about the importance of the Twelve.

The sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio clearly reveals a definite change that took place in the choice and organization of subject matter on Early Christian sarcophagi. On earlier sarcophagi holy figures of the two Testaments, who symbolize salvation, were loosely associated in the reliefs decorating the fronts. The representations of the Milan sarcophagus, however, correspond to a comprehensive and dogmatic program of extreme lucidity. The preparatory scenes of the Old Testament are relegated to the narrow ends and thereby subordinated in importance, as is the intercession of the three saints, which leads to one of the two scenes on the main sides, that belong to the time of grace. These scenes are made prominent not only by their location, but also because each of them shows just one

scene. The reliefs of the lid are reserved for a special theme, the worship of Christ as God and man.

The program of the sarcophagus testifies impressively to the continuity of the Church throughout the history of mankind and to its permanence according to the Holy Scriptures. The sarcophagus bore this testimony in those momentous years when the Church of Christ was *de facto* firmly established through the edict of Theodosius I. At the same time, its representational elements promised to the individuals with mystic intensity salvation from death. No other than a great theologian, very likely the Bishop of Milan himself, could have devised such a grandiose scheme, which also reflected ideas about the consubstantiality of God the Son and God the Father and about the importance of the bishops within the organization of the Church.

The meaning of this profuse sarcophagus is, no doubt, so impressive largely because of the gifted sculptor who was responsible for the design of the whole. This man very likely carved the two main reliefs, the right side, and the medallion enclosing the deceased couple. The reliefs of the left side and of the lid were perhaps entrusted to his assistants and are clumsier in style.⁵⁷ The unusually fine sensibility of the leading sculptor for values of composition, pose, and gesture is therefore apparent in the design of the whole and especially in the reliefs he carved himself. The scenes on the narrow end are subordinated to the two main reliefs by their place, by the variety of their scenes and of elements of scenery. There is, in addition to the city-gates, the water in which Noah's ark floats and the tree of Isaac's sacrifice. The leading master succeeded admirably in contrasting the two narrow ends as well as in relating each of them to one of the main reliefs by the direction of the figures and by variations in the intensity of design. The composition of the interceding saints and of Isaac's sacrifice is static: these poses and gestures lead to the Teaching scene, equally calm in composition. The other side, however, shows strong movements that lead to the Mission scene. The attitude of Peter receiving the law is recalled in the poses of Elisha and Moses. On the lid, the relation of the narrow ends to the main side is just the opposite. The reliefs on the narrow ends are static in composition, while the scenes on the front show figures in movement.

The two main reliefs comprise the same participants: Christ, the Twelve, the *Agnus Dei* and the two deceased. Their composition is similar in the austerity and monumentality of the centralized arrangement that has its climax in Christ. Yet the Mission is given emphasis by the sculptured reliefs on the front of the (now reversed) lid. The sculptor thereby created a dominant central axis that combines the reliefs on the lid and the trough, namely the medallion of the two deceased, the standing Christ, and the *Agnus Dei* flanked by the kneeling deceased. The formal unity of the

55. "Qui sunt qui evangelizant, nisi Petrus, nisi Paulus, nisi omnes apostoli?" (*Epistola XXIX*, 6 ad Irenaeum in *Patrologia Latina*, xvi, col. 1100).

56. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, New Haven-London, 1916, II, pp. 633, 634 n. 8. The passage in Landolfo's chronicle might be based in part on an entry in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*: "Mediolano de ingressu reliquiarum apostolorum Johannis, Andreae et Thomae in basilica ad portam Romanam" (Calderini, "Le basiliche dell'età Ambrosiana," p. 161, n. 100).

57. Von Schoenebeck, *Der Mailänder Sarkophag*, p. 42.

three superposed layers of relief is furthermore stressed by the fact that in each layer twelve figures of equal size flank the central motif.

The sculptor succeeded in giving significant variety to the two main events by other means as well: by the different facial types of Christ; by the contrasting poses of His standing and sitting; by the different directions of the *Agnus Dei*; by the variety of the gestures and attitudes of the figures; and by the differences in the architectural background. The gestures of Christ as teacher are calm and restrained. His right hand, raised in the gesture of speaking, is emphasized by the curve of His pose. When He gives the law and the word, however, His gestures are more grandiose, because He has stretched out His arms. Here, the left hand holding the scroll is stressed by the curve of His pose. The relation of Peter and Paul to Christ changes from front to back. This variation is further stressed by differences in the attitude of Peter. When he listens to the teaching of His master his pose and gestures are static. On the opposite side, his posture shows agitation and the angle of his head and the directional lines of his drapery denote the eagerness with which he accepts the gift from Christ. The gestures of the ten apostles aligned behind Peter and Paul emphasize Paul in the Teaching scene. In the Mission, Peter is stressed by the disciples following him. In the Teaching scene the hands of the apostles behind Peter are calm, while the right hands of Paul and some of his group

are raised vertically. The emphasis is reversed when Peter receives the scroll. Here the apostles who follow him react to the giving of divine grace. Their gestures are more outspoken and they seem to draw away in awe from Peter.

The variations in the design of the architectural background enhance the difference between a composition of seated and of standing figures. The architectural elements of the Teaching scene emphasize the horizontals in the design through the broadness of the outer city-gates and the entablature in the center. On the front, however, greater stress is laid on verticality. Six instead of four gates are narrower and more vertical in design. The architectural element behind Christ is narrower too, and spanned by an arch instead of the horizontal motif of an entablature. Finally, the slightly more dramatic character of the Mission is apparent in the attitudes of the kneeling deceased. On the back they kneel in steep, balanced poses; on the front they bend forward with intensity and eagerness.

Thus design and composition stress in a magnificent manner the exact relation of all the scenes to one another, showing the close coherence of the two main events, while emphasizing by slight but significant variations the different importance these events assume within the grandiose scheme of the different stages of the Church which was and is and shall be forever.

VASSAR COLLEGE

THE ARCHITECTS OF THE CHAPEL AT GREENWICH HOSPITAL

LESLEY LEWIS

THE reconditioning of the present Greenwich Hospital Chapel (Fig. 1) extends from January 1779, when the old chapel by Thomas Ripley was gutted by fire, to February 1790, when the official architects of the Hospital had completed its restoration. James Stuart, joint author with Nicholas Revett of *The Antiquities of Athens*, was the Surveyor. This appointment was made in 1758 through Admiral Anson's influence, on the death of Ripley. The design of the chapel is popularly attributed to Stuart but numerous documents in the Public Records Office and the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects show that although the responsibility was officially his the larger part of the work probably belongs to his assistant William Newton.¹

In 1779 Stuart must have been engaged on Mrs. Montagu's house in Portman Square, begun in 1777 and sufficiently advanced in 1782 for Horace Walpole to dine there.² Another important commission of his in the late 'seventies was Sir Sampson Gideon's house at Belvedere, near Erith, Kent.³ Hence there is evidence of the character of his work at this time, which seems to prove that he may not have been as incapable and infirm as his subordinates at Greenwich liked to suggest. His Clerk of the Works, at the time of the fire, was Robert Mylne, also a man of considerable distinction, who in 1760 had won the competition for the design of Blackfriars Bridge. He is said to have been "a rare jintleman, but as hot as pepper and as proud as a lucifer."⁴ It is hardly surprising that Stuart, notoriously

dilatory and unreliable, quickly quarrelled with his Clerk of the Works when they were engaged on a major project together. The story of their relations is principally contained in the above-mentioned documents in the Public Records Office. These are memoranda, letters and minutes of the Board of Governors of Greenwich Hospital, collected as evidence in a lawsuit brought by the Hospital for the recovery from Mylne of certain drawings. It is there shown that, as a result of his differences with Stuart, Mylne was dismissed in September 1782 and succeeded by William Newton who, with the Board's consent, had been acting as assistant to Stuart since the previous February.

The above-mentioned documents in the Royal Institute of British Architects throw light on William Newton's rather obscure general practice and provide a fairly complete record of his connection with the Hospital. This collection of notes and drawings was apparently assembled by Newton's executors in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain recognition from the Hospital of his claim to be the designer of the chapel, and payment for his extraordinary services.⁵ This claim was made publicly in a footnote to his translation of Vitruvius, published posthumously in 1791.

According to a statement by Mylne the chapel was burned down in 1779, with a great part of Queen Mary's building, and during the next two and one-half years everything was restored except the chapel and the cupola.⁶ An extract from a letter to Mylne dated June 20, 1780 (presumably from the Board) about the room in the cupola for the new clock shows, however, that the latter item was early under consideration.⁷ From the middle of the summer until December of 1780 the damaged parts of the cupola were cleared away and materials for the reconstruction laid in, but work does not seem seriously to have begun until after June 6, 1781. This is the date of a copy agreement by certain craftsmen to undertake the various

1. (a) Public Records Office Addit. 65, 106. These papers are not catalogued individually and will be subsequently referred to by the initials P.R.O. (b) Royal Institute of British Architects A.5, A.6, D.4. The notes and drawings are at present in three boxes noted in the Library handlist by the above numbers and not individually catalogued. They will be subsequently referred to as R.I.B.A., A.5, etc.

2. Horace Walpole, *Letters*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Oxford, 1904, XII, p. 116.

3. Lesley Lawrence [Lewis], "Stuart and Revett: Their Literary and Architectural Careers," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938-1939, pp. 128-146.

4. James Elmes, "History of Architecture in Great Britain," *Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal*, x, 1846, p. 340.

5. See Wyatt Papworth, "William Newton and the Chapel of Greenwich Hospital," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XXVII-XXVIII, 1891, pp. 417-420, for commentary on these papers.

6. P.R.O.

7. R.I.B.A., A.5.

branches of work in the chapel.⁸ The workmen here agreed that works and materials should be paid for "on the same Terms and Conditions, according to Measure, Weight and Value, as are now paid and allowed for Works and Materials of the like kind at the New Buildings of Somerset House, under the Direction and Control of Sir Willm. Chambers." This is corroborated by the rough draft of a letter from Stuart, presumably to the Board, in which he recommends the engagement of the artificers employed at Somerset House who had been "trained up to perform works of great elegance under the most eminent architects."⁹ The names of several of these craftsmen appear in notes on the drawings, showing that they were employed throughout the work, and Newton's executors called on some of them to testify in support of the above-mentioned claim. Devall is named on a drawing for a Corinthian vase, dated March 22, 1782 and signed by Stuart, Papworth on a pencil sketch for the center of the staircase ceiling, and Richard Lawrence on one for "the 2 pannels on the returns of the Organ gallery."¹⁰

By September 1781 the roofing of the chapel was under consideration. There is a draft of a letter of this date to Mrs. Palmer accompanying "Patterns or Modells of the intended Iron work for the Roof of the Chapel."¹¹ This is signed by James Donaldson, Mylne's clerk, who is mentioned in Stuart's account of Mylne's ejection from the office at Greenwich.¹² He possibly was also the author of a drawing of the "Section of the West End in the Chapel," for it appears to be superscribed in his hand "Clerk of the Works Office Greenwich Hospital Augt. 1781" (Fig. 2). This seems to be a sketch with measurements of the west end of the old chapel, for it corresponds with another drawing in which details are labelled "present doorway," et cetera.¹³ The writer has not found any illustrations of Ripley's chapel to confirm this, but there seems reason to suppose that the main lines of the decoration of the east and west ends were influenced by the previous design, and this

would explain the difference of scale between the enormous scagliola columns and the rest of the scheme.

After the preliminary burst of activity there was a pause. Stuart apparently failed to supply the necessary drawings. Mylne says that he wrote for them in January 1782 and, not receiving them, "proceeded to furnish some drawings which were necessary to enable the workmen to make a beginning."¹⁴ Some of these no doubt related to work on the roof, because on June 22 Mylne signed a "Bill of Scantlings made out from Design of the Roof,"¹⁵ but may have included others, for he says, further: "on the 12th January the Surveyor acquainted the common workmen, without apprizing any other person, that the Pedestals, Architraves and other parts proceeding on next the floor and making part of the inside of the Chapel, as well as the foundation of the Cupola towards the East were wrong and were not to be formed in that manner."¹⁶ Yet at the time of writing this, May 1782, Mylne had still received nothing except "some scraps of Drawings of particular parts" given unofficially to the mason. He sums up the situation thus: "The Stone is ready at the Building, the Timber is cut down in the Woods, every preparation is made, Workmen are in waiting and all stands still, because the form and quality of the Parts of the Building are not yet made known to those, who are, by the Constitution of the Hospital, to have the care and execution of it."¹⁷ One of the "scraps" mentioned by Mylne was probably a working drawing on cartridge paper signed by Stuart on March 22, 1782, and described in his very shaky hand, "Corinthian Base, Chappel at Greenwich, Mr. Devall 2.8 Diameter when finished in Scagliola."¹⁸ It has a note on the back, apparently in the same hand, "The Pedestal 7.9 in Surveyor's drawing altered to 7.6 by the Clerk of the Works Mr. Mylne."

Although no general drawings had as yet been sent to Mylne there were some in existence, for the Board had already approved them in March 1782.¹⁹ Dated the same month, there is an estimate by Jn. Richter for eight three-quarter scagliola columns 23 feet 6 inches in height and 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, and thirty-two pilasters 9 feet 9 inches in height, et cetera, which shows that the design

8. R.I.B.A., A.5. The copy signatures are:

John Groves	Bricklayer
John Devall	Mason
Saml. White	Carpenter
William Clark for Mrs. Palmer	Smith
John Papworth	Plasterer
C. Catton	Painter
Richard Lawrence	Carver
George Holroyd and } Jeremiah Devall }	Plumber
William Bent	Ironmonger
Jas. Arrow	Joiner

9. P.R.O.

10. R.I.B.A., A.5.

11. R.I.B.A., A.5.

12. P.R.O.

13. R.I.B.A., A.5.

14. P.R.O.

15. R.I.B.A., A.5.

16. P.R.O.

17. P.R.O.

18. R.I.B.A., A.5.

19. R.I.B.A., D.4 (on permanent loan from the Governors of Greenwich Hospital). On May 20, 1782, Mylne received a general drawing for the east end of the chapel, with an adjustable flap for the center portion making it applicable also to the west end, and on May 22 he received one for the side of the chapel. Both these drawings are signed by Stuart, by J. Ibbetson on behalf of the Commissioners and Governors of Greenwich Hospital, by the Clerk of the Cheque and finally, on receipt, by Robert Mylne, so they at least had been through all the forms required by the Hospital.

was well advanced.²⁰ Mylne received the general drawings (Figs. 3, 4, and 5) on May 20 and 22, but they do not seem to have speeded the matter up very much, for there was a good deal of correspondence about this date in which Mylne complains of the scarcity and inadequacy of the drawings sent him, and Stuart accuses Mylne of precipitancy and officiousness.²¹

By August 1782 the Board evidently grew restless at the continued delay, and Mylne prepared a long memorial recapitulating the statement he had made in May, putting all the blame on Stuart, and justifying his own conduct.²² Stuart replied to this with a vigor that belies his alleged infirmity. His counter-attack on Mylne is recorded by the correspondence between them. He says that after parts of the chapel affected by the fire had been pulled down, "the Clerk of the Works, without orders or drawings from me, was proceeding not to restore it to its original form, but to introduce new mouldings and ornaments of his own invention, such as I could by no means approve of," and that the clerk "altered and mutilated" drawings given to the workmen on March 14.²³ Mylne certainly did do this at times, for we have already noted a drawing altered by him at about this date, and there is another signed "James Stuart Surveyor, Aug. 14th, 1782," with amendments in red ink, signed by Mylne, and a further remark in an unknown hand "this drawing was not made exactly to a scale therefore all the above observations (which are founded upon that supposition) are erroneous the figures only are to be followed."²⁴

In the meanwhile, Mylne was deprived even of the general designs he had received in May. Benjamin West, the artist commissioned to paint the altarpiece, had asked Stuart to get back the drawings so that he could show them to "His Majesty, with the sketch of his picture inserted in its place."²⁵ Stuart took this opportunity to withhold the drawings altogether, alleging several instances of Mylne's abuse and that "it is not allowable nor practicable to work from general drawings made on so small a scale." He had in fact written to Mylne on August 8, 1782: "I have repeatedly told you, that you are not to work from the general Drawings, and I do again strictly and positively forbid, on any pretence whatever, every attempt to deduce particulars, whether mouldings or dimentions, from the general drawings, which therefore cannot be of any use to you, and of course you cannot possibly want them."²⁶

As a result of these disputes, the Board upheld Stuart

and dismissed Mylne on September 10, 1782, not without some trouble, recorded by a further memorandum in Stuart's handwriting:

I went down to Greenwich with Mr. Newton to put him in possession of the Office of the Works, and found Mr. Mylne there, who refused to quit the premises, saying he knew nothing of his dismission, that I might give him time for Information and to take his effects away I did not return till Thursday, when I again acquainted him that it would be necessary for him to quit the office to me but he again refused saying he should not acquiesce to any such proposition, he asked by what authority I came with such orders, I told him by that of the General Court he answered he should not submit to the orders of such a packt General Court after making many words he sett off for Rochester as I was told I went to Dinner and returned to London.

On Saturday morning I again went to Greenwich and got into the Office in which was Mr. Donaldson Clerk to Mr. Mylne from whom he said he had orders not to resign the possession but by force. I gently led him out, sent for the Hospital Smith and put a new lock on the Door, and left a person I could trust in possession, after some time Mr. Mylne returned and finding himself shut out he seemed much irritated. I immediately appeared, and he desired with as much temper as he could make up that we might contend without being angry, said he had property and private papers which he wished to take away, for that purpose I readily admitted him he took every paper he could find, then told me he had been illegally turned out that I had come by force into his house, in which he had property and private papers, and things of great value committed to his trust, assured me he would sue me, his anger encreased as he talked, and at length he said now he was in, he would not go out but by force, solicited me to turn him out, and seemed determined to remain. It being dinner time, I left him, leaving at the same time two trusty persons with orders not to quit the Premises to him [*sic*].²⁷

Mylne now disappears from our story, but throughout the 'eighties and 'nineties the Governors of the Hospital were still trying to recover papers from him, and these may have included three volumes of miscellaneous drawings for various parts of the Hospital, now in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. A note on the title-page says that they were produced in the lawsuit against Mylne in 1793.

William Newton's connection with Greenwich Hospital begins officially on February 9, 1782, when, according to a statement by Newton's executors,²⁸ corroborated by further correspondence, he was "authorized by the Committee to assist Mr Stuart."²⁹ Unofficially they may have been associated earlier, for the executors said further that "towards the latter end of the year 1781 a misunderstanding happening between them [i.e., Stuart and Mylne], application was made by Mr. Stuart to Mr. Wm. Newton to make some designs necessary for rebuilding the Chapel." In any case they worked together almost

20. R.I.B.A., A.5.

21. P.R.O.

22. P.R.O.

23. P.R.O.

24. R.I.B.A., A.5.

25. P.R.O.

26. P.R.O.

27. P.R.O.

28. R.I.B.A., A.5.

29. P.R.O.



FIG. 1. Greenwich, Royal Naval College: Interior of Chapel

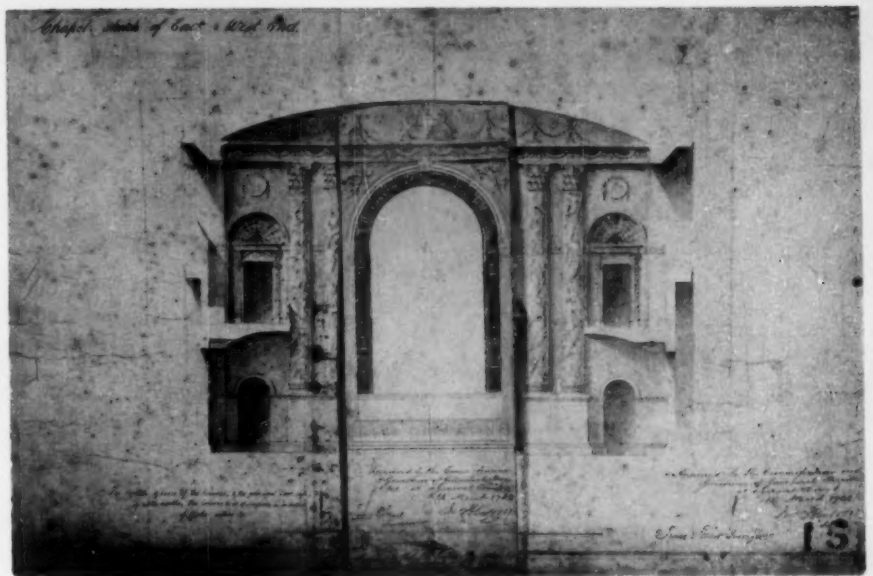


FIG. 3. Design for East End of Chapel. R.I.B.A., D.4

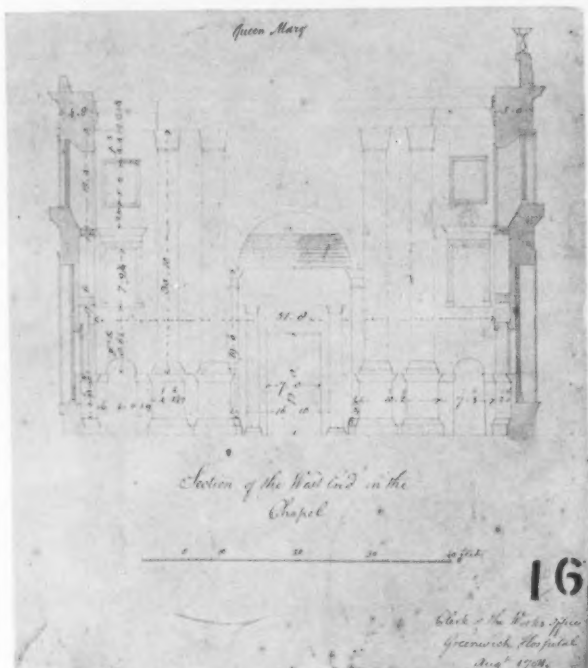


FIG. 2. Drawing Presumed To Be of Older Chapel. R.I.B.A., A.5

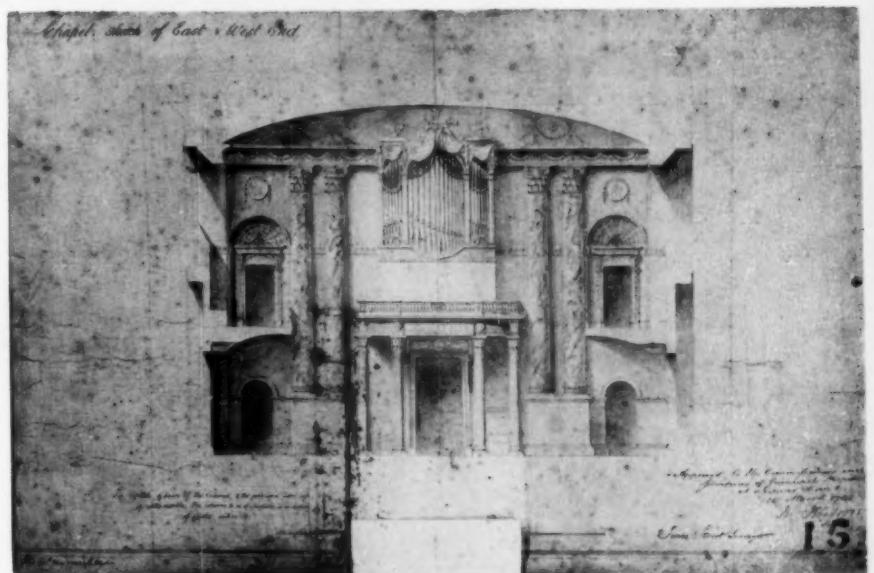


FIG. 4. Design for West End of Chapel (The Same Drawing Shown in Fig. 3; But With Flap Raised)

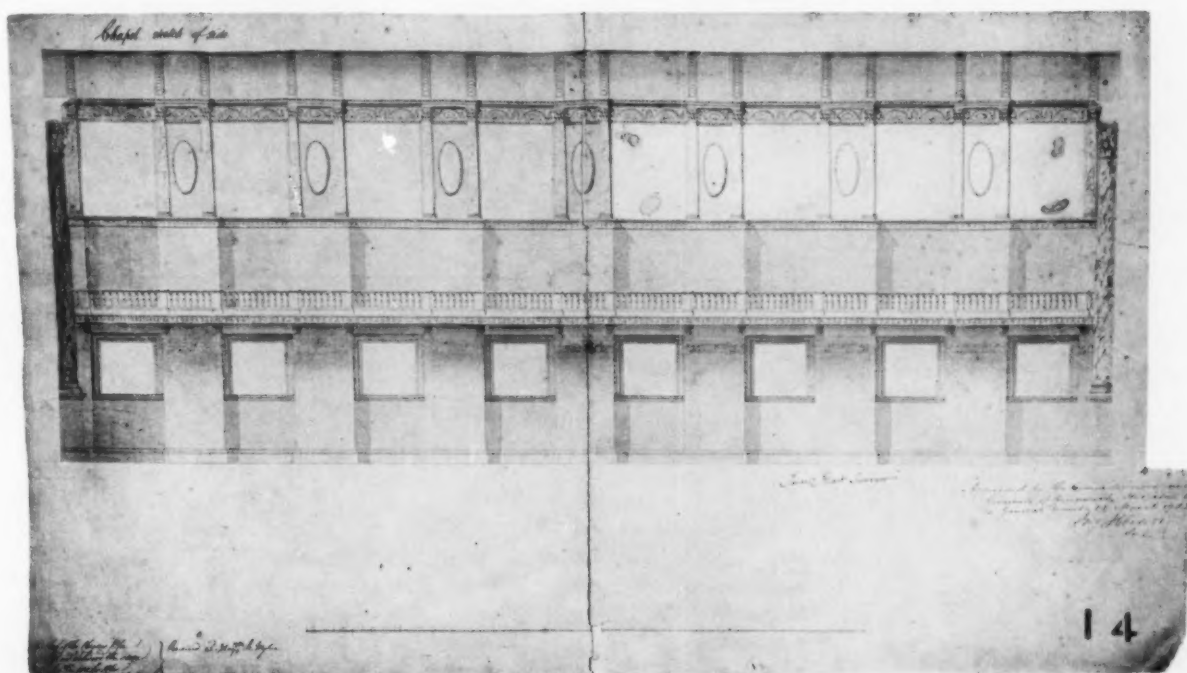


FIG. 5. Design for Side of Chapel. R.I.B.A., D.4



FIG. 6. The Boys' School, Now Engineering Laboratory (Reproduced by Kind Permission of National Maritime Museum)

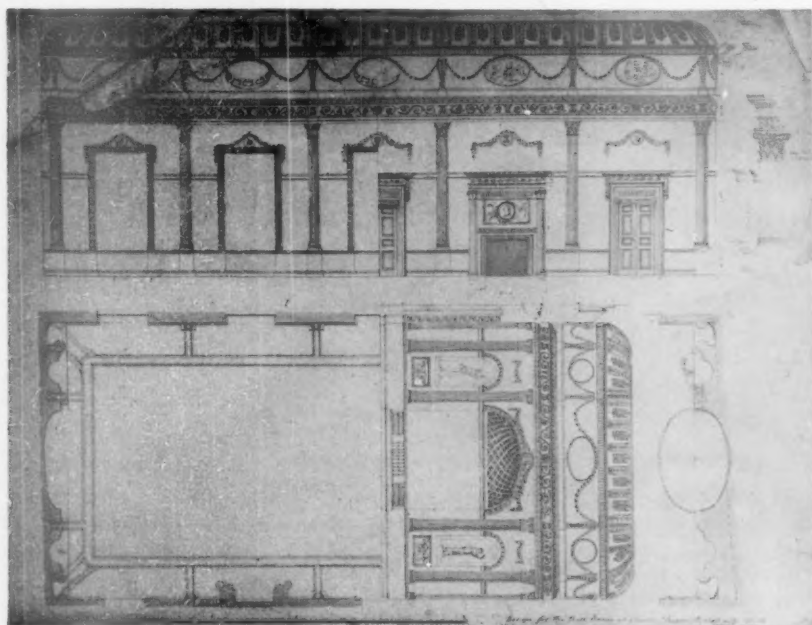


FIG. 9. Design for London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street. R.I.B.A., A.6



FIG. 7. Design for Mantelpiece, Durdans. R.I.B.A., A.6

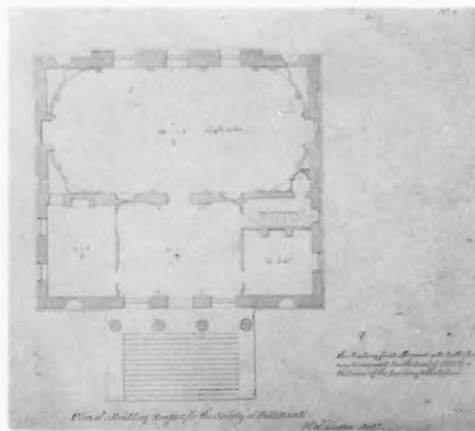


FIG. 8. Plan of Building for Society of Dilettanti. R.I.B.A., A.6

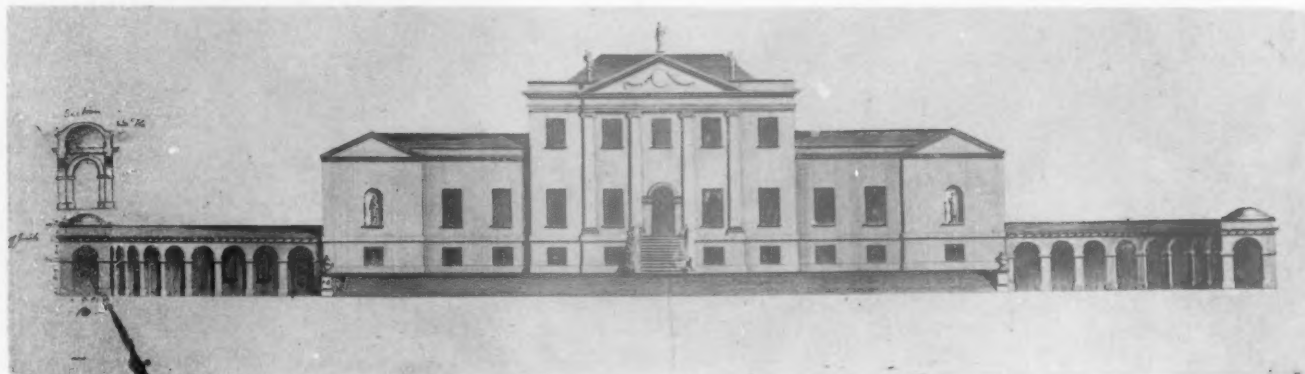


FIG. 10. Engraved Design for Highams. R.I.B.A., A.6

throughout the year 1782, until in December Newton was officially appointed Clerk of the Works in succession to Mylne, and it is possible that the former not only prepared the drawings for the Chapel but inspired much of the vigor with which Stuart refuted Mylne's charges.³⁰ The little that is known of Newton's career suggests that he was an ambitious and energetic man, bent on obtaining important public commissions, which persistently eluded him.

It appears that only structural work can have been completed at the time of Mylne's dismissal, for Stuart wrote, on August 3, 1782, that the "Western end of the Chapel is building as fast as possible, the Cupola is in great part supported by it."³¹ John Devall, the mason, wrote to Robert Smirke, one of Newton's executors, that "the part of the Chapel in which I was concerned was very forward when Mr. Newton was appointed Clerk of the Works."³² No decorative work can have begun, except probably the moldings included in Devall's work for, on December 30, 1782, Wyatt, the carpenter mentioned in the agreement already quoted, wrote to Charles White, the assistant in Newton's office, "Mr. Wyatt's compliments to Mr. White and above he has sent him the pieces of fir timber that he is in possession of which are long enough to make Beams for the Chapel at Greenwich of which Mr. White will be so good as to inform Mr. Newton."³³

In 1783 the inside was rebuilt with Portland stone and all other damaged stonework repaired.³⁴ It is evident that this year saw much other activity, for on August 22, John Maule, Clerk of the Cheque, wrote to Newton saying that he had forborne pressing him for the Book of Works "on account of the heavy Measurements of which have been lately at the Chapel and Dome." In this year, too, Newton applied for an assistant, and in a long letter to John Ibbetson, Secretary to the Board, described the manifold routine duties of the Clerk of the Works, to which were added two works "of some magnitude," namely "the New School for the Boys and the restoration of the Chapel." It is not disputed that the Boys' School, now the Engineering Laboratory (Fig. 6), was the work of Newton, although Stuart, as Surveyor, should have been officially responsible. The only evidence of the latter's participation is his signature to a rough estimate for its building, dated March 8, 1783. The interior has been completely transformed, but the exterior is thought to be substantially original. It is not only completely out of harmony with Stuart's manner, but strongly

suggestive of the style revealed in Newton's drawings. Newton was therefore certainly playing the leading part in all general work at the Hospital at this date, however ambiguous the evidence of his work in the chapel.

In 1784 the great roof over the chapel "was framed and raised"; the walls supporting the dome were being built; the eight great columns also went up, with their marble capitals and bases. To this year also belongs a letter from J. Holmes to Newton concerning the dial of the clock. The organ loft was already under consideration, for a working drawing is superscribed "No 6 Statuary Bases to columns to support the Organ loft Royal Hospital Greenwich. Given me by Mr. Newton Octr 2 1784. J.D." [presumably the mason, John Devall]. In 1785 all exterior work was finished. Inside work included the fixing of the thirty-two scagliola pilasters on the gallery level. Throughout 1786 the "enriched arched ceiling" and much other work was proceeding. Richard Lawrence, carver, submitted this year an estimate for carving the pulpit, and another for "Turning, Carving and Bronzing the Candelabras as per design."³⁵

The year 1786 was outstanding in activity. It was then that the marble angels by John Bacon, over the altar, were made and fixed. These occasioned a sharp reproof from the Board to Newton, from which it is evident that the authorities at least did not recognize the Surveyor's alleged incapacity.³⁶

In 1787 the ceiling and much other decorative work were finished. The six marble columns supporting the organ gallery were put up. According to Newton's executors' statement all that remained to be done was the pulpit and reader's desk, altar, with railing round it, the marble paving, the "great marble doorcase," the floor and bal-

35. This, with several other references to candelabra, is rather obscure. None now in the chapel correspond with the drawings, but it is possible that decorative motifs rather than real candelabra were intended here, for Newton, in a note, speaks of "Candelabra and Soffites over the lower windows." It was intended to have similar motifs, on a large scale, above the eight great columns, for these are shown in the general drawing. It was apparently an afterthought to employ Biagio Rebecca to paint the flat lunettes at either end, for he is not recorded as working on them until 1788. Newton wrote in that year to Benjamin West, asking him to urge Rebecca "to go on with the paintings, at the Organ End, where the scaffold remains up solely for him, and stops all the work below it."

36. "The Clerk of the Works was then called in and told of the impropriety of his conduct in bespeaking the above mentioned Figures without consulting the Board, or even the Surveyor; he begged that the censure might be deferred till he could give his reasons, in writing, which he promised to do at the next meeting." P.R.O. Minutes of the Board Jan. 21, 1786.

"Gives his reasons, in writing, for thinking that it was a part of his Duty to order them, and everything else proper for completing the Chapel agreeable to the Plan approved by the General Court was told that he had totally mistaken his instructions and that he ought not to do anything of the kind without previous directions from the Board or his principal the Surveyor—A rule which he promised to observe in future." *Ibid.* Feb. 1, 1786.

30. P.R.O.

31. P.R.O.

32. R.I.B.A., A.5.

33. R.I.B.A., A.5.

34. The further progress of the chapel to its completion is mainly recorded in R.I.B.A., A.5. References other than this will be given in the footnotes.

ustrade of the organ gallery, the mahogany doors, the picture for the altarpiece, the paintings in the recesses between the upper windows and over the lower ones, the ceiling and cornices under the organ gallery, the final painting of the whole chapel, the pewing, and some work in the vestibule at the west end. A drawing for the pavement had been approved by the Board on July 8, 1786. On August 18 of that year Richard Lawrence had sent in an estimate of £200 for the "Carving to the Pulpit as per design approved by the Board." The design for the altar was also determined, because on May 4, 1787, Eleanor Coade had estimated (at £7 7s apiece) for the "Six figures of Angels for ye Chapell." The purpose of these is confirmed by a rough pencil sketch for a "Communion Table like an Altar in Artif. Stone Greek Caryatids as Angels." The present altar answers to this description if what appears to be bronze is, as seems probable, merely Coade Stone painted to resemble it. The pulpit was not finished by February 1788, because a drawing bearing that date represents a "frize for the Pulpit and Reading Desk." It is evident that the detail of the chapel was almost completely designed during Stuart's lifetime, and that the work of the two years from 1788 to 1790, when Newton was in sole charge, included no important additions to the original scheme. Its true authorship cannot therefore be ascertained by mere reference to dates.

Stuart died on February 2, 1788, and Newton, not unnaturally, hoped to be appointed Surveyor in his place. He was, however, passed over on this occasion in favor of Sir Robert Taylor and again, when the latter died in the September following, for William Yenn. On this second disappointment he wrote to Benjamin West telling him of his intention to present a memorial to the Board representing his claims to the surveyorship, even though Yenn's appointment had already been made. He also said that he contemplated giving up his present office "as it will be displeasing to me to be placed under a younger man and perhaps I may say less eminent in the profession than myself." He did not, however, carry out this intention, and the Board made a special provision that the Surveyor should not interfere with him in the matter of the chapel. Newton had written to Ibbetson on Stuart's death: "The whole works of the Chapel being designed and executed in the Greek style agreeable to Mr. Stuart's and mine and having met with general approbation — I humbly express my hopes that the board will think it right to endeavor that from Mr. Stuart's death nothing may happen to prevent its being completed in the same manner. . . ."³⁷ The work was at last finished in 1790 and Newton died in the same year.

Meanwhile, Newton had been preparing a case to be laid before the Board for redress of his many grievances

37. P.R.O.

which do indeed seem to have been severe. He had apparently received no extra payment for his drawings and work the Surveyor should have done. He had been passed over twice in one year for the surveyorship although for some time he had apparently been performing most of the duties of the post without appropriate reward. Finally he had the mortification of seeing the whole design of the chapel attributed to Stuart in an official history of the Hospital by Cooke and Maule, published in 1789. His executors took up the case, as we have seen, and a note in his published translation of Vitruvius is worth quoting in full as giving, with apparent precision, his part in the chapel:

In a work lately published, intitled *An Historical Account of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich*, it may be observed (at p. 100) that the designing of the new chapel is ascribed solely to the late Mr. Stuart. The respect which is due to truth, and to a reputation fairly earned, obliges me to notice that assertion, and to embrace this opportunity of stating the case to those who may think so trifling a circumstance worthy of attention. In the year 1782, when the chapel was begun, Mr. Stuart was far advanced in age, and had, for many years preceding his death, been extremely infirm. On this occasion therefore, which called for a union of experience and activity, I was authorized by the Directors of the Hospital to assist him. The general designs for the chapel I made that year, and continued to produce the rest, from time to time, until its completion in 1790, two years after Mr. Stuart's death. The only parts of the building in which Mr. Stuart had any share were the ornaments of the ceiling, the frame of the altar-picture, and the balusters used in the two side galleries: these with the carving of some stone mouldings, taken from Greek examples in his *Antiquities of Athens*, were all that he determined; the remainder were of my designing, or my selecting, where the antique has been selected. This being the fact, and the building having obtained some commendation, I conceive myself justified in thus publicly asserting my claim to a share of the work; although I at the same time become responsible for a greater portion of its errors. I do not mean to charge the authors of the above-mentioned *Historical Account* with any deliberate intention to injure my fame, or deprive me of what little reputation I may deserve: their book was published under the sanction of the Governors of the Hospital. Mr. Stuart was the regular surveyor, whose duty it was to provide whatever architectural designs may be required; and therefore the laws and forms of that establishment were complied with, in his appearing ostensibly to be the designer of that edifice, and also of the new building appropriated to the education of the charity boys, although it was entirely executed from my designs.³⁸

To summarize: it is plain that only Stuart and Newton were concerned in the decorative scheme of the chapel, for Mylne was expressly prevented from introducing his own ideas. Further, Newton did most of the working drawings of details, for enough of them are signed to establish this. Finally, Newton was associated with Stuart for long enough before the general drawings were submitted to the

38. *The Architecture of Vitruvius Pollio*, transl. W. Newton, London, 1791, Note to Advertisement.

Board for these to have been his work too. The latter are, of course, signed by Stuart, as required by the regulations of the hospital, but, in the writer's opinion, there is little doubt that Newton did them, for their style accords with that of other signed drawings by him. Yet he might still only be putting Stuart's ideas on paper, unless his claim to the actual conception could be justified by comparison of authentic independent work by each architect. The difficulty here is that Stuart left almost no drawings (as far as we know) and barely enough buildings fully to establish his architectural style, while Newton's drawings are many, but no entire building in its original state is known to be undeniably his. Newton has, however, left enough work for some stylistic comparison to be attempted.³⁹

The entry on William Newton by Wyatt Papworth in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is mainly based on the above-mentioned documents in the Royal Institute of British Architects and accurately summarizes what is known of his career.⁴⁰ He was born in 1735, so a design for a large house dated 1755 was a precocious effort. It shows him following Palladian tradition in exterior design, but appreciative of the variety of room-plans which was to distinguish the best domestic architecture of the latter half of the century. In 1763 he designed a house for "Crab Bolton Esq." but it is not known whether it was ever built, or where. The drawing shows some of the characteristics of Newton's later designs, particularly a tendency to make the central block too high and narrow, with ill-related wings.

In 1764, he received a commission for work at Durdans, Epsom, Surrey, for a Mr. Dalbiac (Fig. 7).⁴¹ Possibly he was employed only on interior decoration, as suggested by the surviving drawings, but as the house was entirely rebuilt in or about 1875 the point is unsettled.⁴² Two designs of fireplaces are signed, and dated 1764, and there are some rough notes of accounts, and a sketch for a "Room for State and Entertainment in Country House for a Gent. Gay Pleasing Rich Elegant Rural."

Mr. Dalbiac apparently employed Newton again when he built Hungerford Park, for there are several designs for front, rear, and side elevations, and for interior work. They are not dated, but a sketch plan and elevation which

must relate to this and not to Durdans is inscribed "Mr. Dalbiac's Plan as Per 1st Design 1768."⁴³

Newton made several designs for a building for the Society of Dilettanti (Fig. 8) which, according to one of his notes, was to be "Elegant, Delicate, Genteel, Refin'd and everything contrary to Rusticity and Barbarism." The writer was told by the Honorary Secretary of the Society that there is no evidence in the minutes that Newton was commissioned to prepare these drawings. He may have done them simply as an exercise, or as a speculation, on information given by some member of the Society. There is no indication of who this might be, as none of Newton's known patrons was a Dilettante. Nevertheless he may have had some private information, because some versions of his design are evidently based on that of the temple at Pola, which the Dilettanti had chosen in 1753 as a model, and he also knew of the proposed site in Green Park. Hence the date of the drawings may be 1764, the year in which this particular site was under consideration.⁴⁴ It is well known that the Dilettanti's building scheme came to nothing, although it cropped up in the minutes from time to time throughout the eighteenth century.

The following year, 1765, seems, on the evidence of the drawings, to have been well filled with commissions for small private houses. In 1766 Newton went to Italy and there is an absence of drawings for that year.

Newton was thirty-one when he went abroad, and had already formed a style that brought him a regular supply of relatively unimportant private commissions. He cannot have made a long stay, because drawings of 1767 show him busy again in England. He must certainly have returned by April 3 of that year, when he dated the draft of a letter accompanying the design of a mantelpiece to be carved to his instructions at Carrara. As far as can be judged from the drawings, Newton's style changed very little between 1765 and 1767. He is still finicky in detail and uncertain when coördinating any elaborate external elevation, but he studied Latin thoroughly enough to achieve the first English translation of Vitruvius.

In 1768 Newton assisted William Jupp the elder in drawing a fine Eating Room and Ball Room for the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, London (since demolished) (Fig. 9). In this year too he built the only house the writer has so far seen which clearly corresponds to his drawings, namely Highams, at Woodford Green, Essex,

39. Newton's drawings (R.I.B.A., A.6) include sketches and some finished designs for private houses and ambitious public projects. He was apparently employed more as a decorator than as an architect. In spite of his exalted opinion of himself he must have been relatively obscure, for such local histories as the writer has consulted do not mention his name when describing houses in which the drawings prove him to have been concerned.

40. The following remarks are supplementary to the above-mentioned entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

41. E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, London, 1813, xiv, p. 171. E. W. Brayley, *A Topographical History of Surrey*, Dorking, 1841-1844, iv, pp. 352-353.

42. Information kindly supplied by the present owner.

43. The war prevented the writer from ascertaining whether any of the present house, known to have been much altered by subsequent owners, corresponds to the "neat mansion in the Italian style" referred to by E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, *op. cit.*, i, p. 126. See also Daniel Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, London, 1813, i, pt. ii, p. 296.

44. Lionel Cust, *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, London, 1898, pp. 47, 60-61. One of Newton's designs has a faint pencil note, "Front next to Palace and Park."

built for Anthony Bacon, M.P. for Aylesbury.⁴⁵ According to Newton's designs (Fig. 10), the central block was to have only two storeys above the basement.⁴⁶ The arcades were probably never built but may have been begun as the writer was informed that arched brick foundations were found by workmen when recent additions were made.

The house as it now stands (Fig. 11) is considerably altered. Large wings were added when it became a school, and at some earlier date it was clumsily enlarged by an addition which hopelessly unbalances the rear elevation, and is visible in front, to the left of the central block. The pleasing contrast of brick and stone, and the proper relief of the ornament, have been lost by the house having been cemented over, but a certain delicacy in the workmanship and use of the stone features still gives distinction to the façade. Inside, the only work suggestive of Newton's designs is on the staircase, where there are a good dado and iron ramp, and a fine Palladian window framed with Ionic half-columns. No room now corresponds with Newton's design for a "Stucco Room at Mr. Bacons at Woodford"⁴⁷ (Fig. 12).

The surprising feature of the house as planned is its smallness, for the measurements of the largest room are given as 27 X 18 feet on the plan and, although intended for a particularly fine site, it was no more than an example in miniature of the contemporary grand manner. This is why, in spite of its changed condition, the house is worth considering with some care. Judging from the drawings it appears typical of Newton's private commissions, and this may have some bearing on the authorship of the work at Greenwich, which strongly suggests a designer accustomed to a small scale.

There is no record of any considerable activity again until 1774, when Newton made designs for the rebuilding of the church of St. Alphage, London Wall. He was unsuccessful, for the job went to the architect William

Hillier and the builder Sir William Staines, afterwards Lord Mayor of London.⁴⁸ In the following year he again tried unsuccessfully to obtain a commission for a church, and submitted designs, presumably in competition, for the rebuilding of Battersea Church. But the churchwarden, Joseph Dixon, had offered early in 1772 to make plans and estimate the cost and also to give "his services as Surveyor without any charge for the same."⁴⁹ It was he who designed and built the present church. Newton's drawings (Figs. 13, 14), like the ones he did for St. Alphage, are interesting both as showing his ambition for public works and his style in such matters.⁵⁰

Newton now seems to have attracted a patron more celebrated than any who had hitherto employed him, but it is doubtful if the connection brought him much work. In 1775 Newton designed an elaborate villa for Sir John Borlase Warren at Marlowe, Bucks.⁵¹ The improbable character of the design as well as the course of Warren's career suggests that it may never have been carried out. The writer has not been able to identify the house. It is possible that Newton may have worked for him elsewhere. There is a sketch design for the "withdrawing room at Lundy Island," and Newton possibly went there, for a note on a slip of paper records that "an old Lundy friend called to enquire after Mr. Newton's health." If any of Newton's work survives on the island (which the writer has been unable to ascertain) it is probably in the farmhouse which Warren repaired and occupied from 1775, when he bought the island, to 1777, when he left it for good.⁵²

A group of nine drawings seems to go with a plan and elevation inscribed in pencil, partly obliterated, "Design . . . Orphan School in the City Road."⁵³ These may indicate a public commission of some importance, but the drawings suggest a utilitarian building quite unlike the highly ornamented chapel at Greenwich.⁵⁴

45. According to Thomas Wright, *The History and Topography of the County of Essex*, London, 1836, II, pp. 506-507, and Walthamstow Antiquarian Society, *Official Publication No. 6*, 1919, p. 13, the house was sold soon afterwards to John Biggin, and again in 1785 to William Hornby, Governor of Bombay, who "enlarged and much improved the house and grounds." It changed hands again in 1790, being bought by John Harman, Esq., who employed Humphrey Repton to improve the grounds, and in 1849 was sold to Edward Warner, remaining in the possession of his descendants till 1919, when it became the Woodford County High School for Girls. The writer is indebted to the Headmistress for permission to take photographs and to Col. Sir Edward Warner, Bt., for much information, including a description of a book of ten drawings of the grounds by Repton, dated 1793 to 1794.

46. The top storey shown in an engraving by S. Rawle, published with an account in *European Magazine*, 1801, may have been one of Hornby's "improvements."

47. Sir E. Warner has told the writer that there are two marble mantelpieces from Highams at his house, Brettenham Park, Suffolk.

48. Brayley, Nightingale and Brewer, *London and Middlesex*, London, 1810-1816, X, p. 219; P. C. Carter, *History of the Church and Parish of St. Alphage, London Wall*, London, 1925, p. 6.

49. J. G. Taylor, *Our Lady of Batesey*, Chelsea, 1925, p. 100.

50. One drawing for the east end at Battersea, and a design for the Exchange at Dublin are in the British Museum.

51. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

52. J. R. Chanter, *Lundy Island*, London, 1877, pp. 43, 92; G. Steinman Steinman, *Some Account of the Island of Lundy*, London, 1837, IV, p. 326.

53. *Endowed Charities* (County of London), 1900, III, p. 518, refers to the school's having been moved from Hoxton in 1773 to premises built on a site bought by the trustees in City Road. It is no longer there.

54. At a more favorable time it might be profitable to resume the enquiry into whatever more of Newton's work remains standing, especially the houses for Mr. Rowden at "Yoel" or "Yvel," 1765, for Mr. Chauvet at Isleworth, 1769, and Mr. Giles's villa at Twickenham, for which there are enough drawings to make identification a possibility.



FIG. 11. Highams, New Woodford County High School

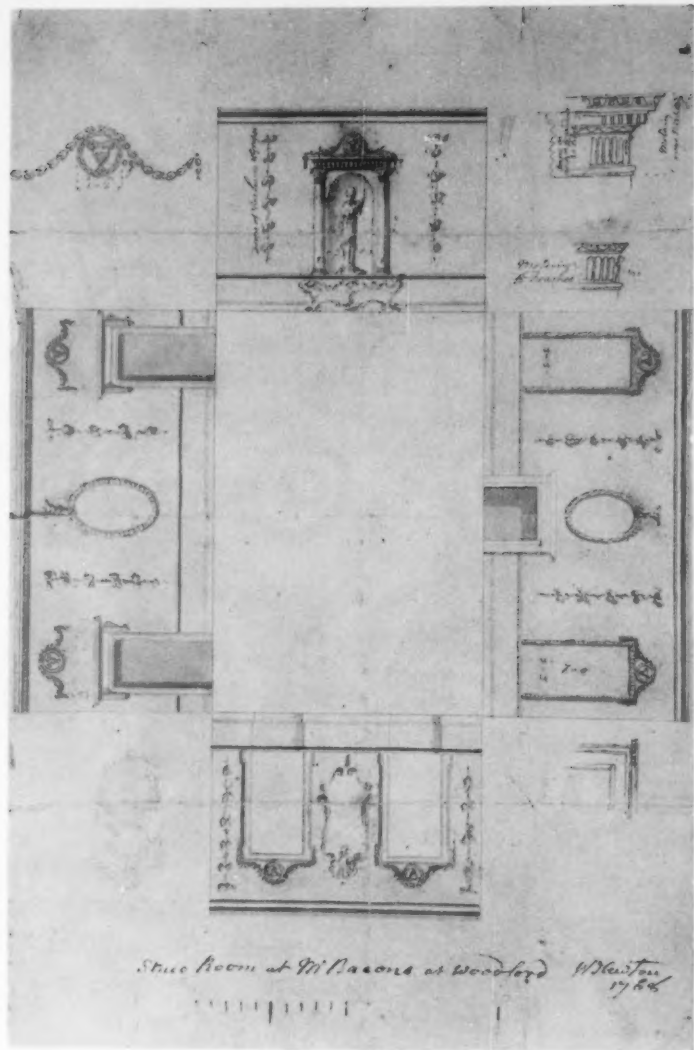


FIG. 12. Design for Room at Highams. R.I.B.A., A.6

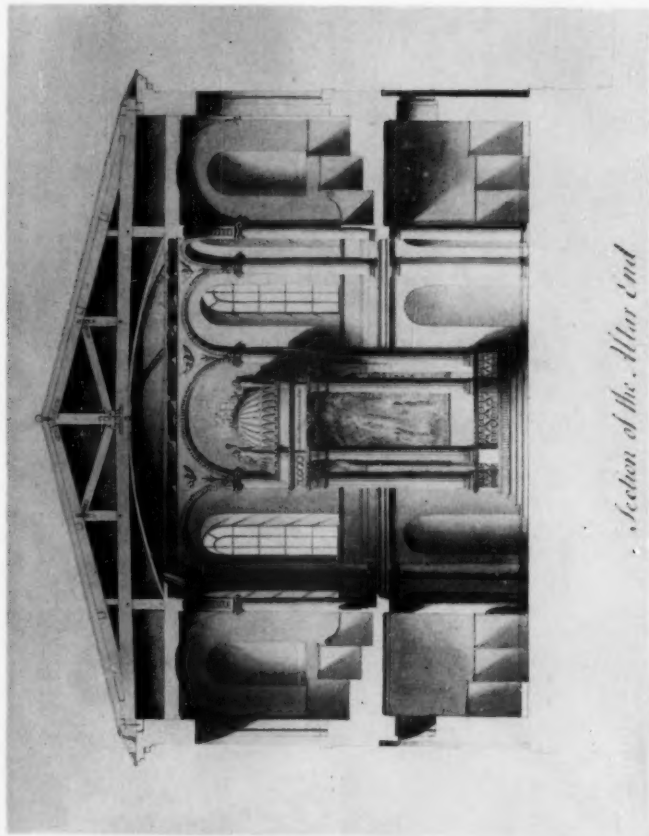


FIG. 13. British Museum, Print Room: Design for East End of Battersea Church

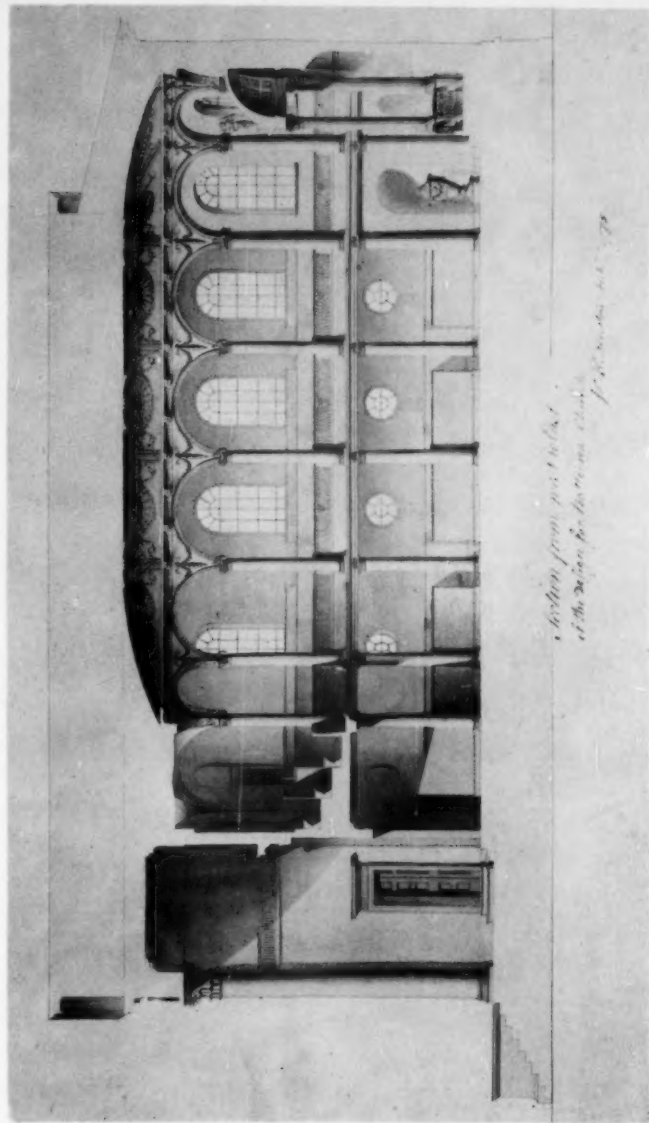


FIG. 14. Section for Battersea Church. R.I.B.A., A.6



The question is whether, on the stylistic evidence of his fragmentary surviving work as well as on his published declaration, the claim should be allowed that Newton, the Clerk of the Works, played the principal part in the chapel at Greenwich and Stuart, the Surveyor, only a subordinate one. Newton himself ascribed to Stuart the ornaments of the ceiling, the frame of the altar picture, the balusters of the side-galleries, and the carving of some stone moldings taken from the *Antiquities of Athens*. The balusters are not distinctive enough to provide any clue. As Newton speaks of "selecting" antique examples, little help can be got from the moldings. For the same reason, the change from the Corinthian columns of the organ gallery to the Ionic ones of the finished work does not necessarily mean anything in this context. But the frame and the ceiling are suggestive. The honeysuckle frieze of the frame is a favorite with Stuart, interpreted in his characteristic stiff manner. It is different from the design shown in the general drawing which, as we have seen, is almost certainly Newton's. The "ornaments of the ceiling" is a vague phrase, and might mean the whole design or only some of the detail, but probably the former. The lay-out has a strong resemblance to that of the ballroom ceiling at 22 Portman Square, later Portman House (destroyed in an air-raid in 1941), on which Stuart was employed immediately before decorative work began in the chapel. The large scale and strong demarcation of compartments, combined with the differ-

ence from the Greenwich general drawings and from Newton's designs for Battersea church and St. Alphage, support this conclusion.

The main lines of the east and west ends were probably determined by an earlier design. If we take these as well as the whole ceiling from Newton we do not seem to have left him much. But, as the shell of the old chapel remained, the task was essentially for a decorator rather than an architect. Whoever set the tune for the decoration could claim to be the designer-in-chief. The interior generally has a higher wrought richness, an effect built up from small units, which is compatible with what is known of Newton's other work as well as being entirely foreign to Stuart. The latter, with his strongly archaeological tastes, never acquired any fluency in composing from the antique. He tended faithfully to reproduce large-scale motifs which appear rather cramped in their setting. Stuart's monumental style is somewhat painfully adapted to domestic use, whereas the chapel is decorated in an accomplished, rather precious, "drawing-room" manner, raised here to a rare dignity by its application to the generous lines of an earlier structure. The predominant and unifying influence in an admittedly composite work of art is that of the obscure translator of Vitruvius rather than of his famous colleague "Athenian" Stuart. William Newton's claim seems to be fully justified.

BRENTWOOD, ESSEX



NOTES

DÜRER AND LUTHER AS THE MAN OF SORROWS

ROLAND H. BAINTON

On two occasions Dürer portrayed himself in the guise of the Savior. The first was in 1500 when alike the composition of the picture and the modification of the features unmistakably suggest the traditional portrayal of Christ. The second was in 1522 when, wracked with malaria and sensing the approach of death, he drew his wasted body in the nude with the instruments of the passion, the whip and the scourge, in his hands (Fig. 1). Professor Panofsky very properly inquires how so humble and pious an artist as Dürer could have resorted to a device which many less religious men would have considered blasphemy. The answer is found in the theme of the imitation of Christ and further in the concept that genius derived its creative power from God and might be depicted with a resemblance to God.¹

This interpretation is sound but admits of amplification and illustration. To the theme of the *imitatio Christi* should be added that of the *conformatio Christi*. The former was an endeavor on the part of man to follow Christ, the latter was a gift conferred by God of likeness to Christ. The proponent of the one was Thomas à Kempis; the exemplar of the other was St. Francis, to whom was granted in his own body conformity to the Savior through the gift of the stigmata. Very early the claim was advanced by Fra Salimbene that St. Francis was in all respects conformable to Christ. The theme received a most detailed development at the hands of Fra Bartolomeo da Pisa, who in 1390 composed a work entitled *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu*. Every feature of the passion of Christ was here asserted to have been reduplicated in St. Francis. Like his Master, he was subject to sale, betrayal, the agony in the garden, the binding, mockery, scourging, crowning with thorns, stripping of raiment, crucifixion, piercing with a lance and the offer of vinegar. The conformity could, of course, be maintained only through allegory. As an example, take the way in which even the superscription on the cross was transferred to Francis. He too was *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum*. He was *Jesus* by reason of the conformity, *Nazarenus* through asceticism, *Rex* through mastery over the passions, and *Judaeorum* as the leader of an elect people.²

How soon such ideas affected the iconography of St. Francis is difficult to determine with precision. In modern portrayals, such as that by Fritz Kuntz, the features of St. Francis and Christ in the same picture are practically interchangeable (Fig. 2). But whether Giotto, in portraying the saint with a somewhat aquiline and bearded countenance, was consciously producing a conformity to the traditional likeness of Christ would be difficult to establish.³

A curious parallel is to be observed in the iconography of John Hus, who in modern times has been portrayed after the guise of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane (Fig. 3). Such treatment of Hus entailed a decided break with the earlier

iconography in which he was shown beardless and rotund. By the time of the sixteenth century, especially in German woodcut, the face had become elongated and bearded. That any deliberate imitation of Christ was already at work would be too much to affirm, though the possibility is not to be excluded because Hus already in the sixteenth century was given a high place in the heavenly hierarchy. There is a picture of him at the stake dating from 1510 to 1514. The face is still beardless and rotund. The smoke clouds billow from his pyre to form a wreath in which appears in the apex God the Father, and immediately below cherubim placing a crown upon the head of this same Hus quite after the manner of the Coronation of the Virgin.⁴ Whether these developments were already sufficiently overt in art to have asserted an influence upon Dürer is questionable, and in any case such exaltation of the canonized dead would scarcely have prompted the living to treat themselves in the same fashion.

Literary parallels are more definite. The accommodation of a martyrology to the gospel narrative of the passion of Christ is discoverable as early as the second century in the Martyrdom of Polycarp. An example in Franciscan history occurred in 1389 when one of the Fraticelli was burned at the stake. A sympathizer at once composed the story of his martyrdom by employing such phrases as these: "Now when even was come, the chief of the Pharisees sent for Fra Michele."⁵ In Dürer's century a much more extensive use was made of this device in a narrative of the trial of Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms. The whole story was recorded in what might be called almost a parody of the gospel. One scarcely knows whether to use the word "parody," which suggests levity. This document does at certain points remind one of the parodies of the Mass in the Middle Ages, or of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed in the polemic of the Reformation. The satirical is suggested by the use of the word "courtesan" for the courtiers of the pope, and the reference to the Roman *Trias*. These allusions suggest an author in the circle of Ulrich von Hutten, who had already composed a lampoon with the title *Trias*, because the enormities of Rome were arranged in triplets. Yet Hutten, though a satirist, was passionately in earnest. The real mood of this assimilation of the passion of Luther to the passion of Christ can be gauged only by reading. For that reason the document is here translated in full.

A few preliminary words are necessary as to the persons mentioned. The High Priest of Mainz called Caiaphas was Albert of Hohenzollern, the Archbishop of Mainz. Though the first to denounce Luther to Rome he was later induced by Erasmus to adopt a mediatory rôle. Carraciolo and Aleander were the papal nuncios at the Diet of Worms, the former in matters political, the latter in matters religious. Aleander was often taunted with being a Jew and hotly rejected the appellation. Chièvre was a minister of Charles V and had been instrumental in arranging to have Luther brought to Worms. The Saxon was Luther's patron, Frederick the Wise. He was neither so pusillanimous nor so bold as he is here represented. The Cardinal Gurk was Matthew Lang, the Bishop of Gurk, Archbishop of Salzburg, and Cardinal. He was an Austrian and an abettor of the Hapsburgs. Though no friend of heresy, he counseled giving Luther a hearing to avoid tumult. Glapio was the confessor of Charles V, who attempted a compromise solution that Luther flatly rejected. John Eck was an official of the Archbishop of Trier, and is not to be confused with another

1. Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1945, I, p. 43.

2. Ernst Benz, *Ecclesia Spirituality, Kirchenidee und Geschichtsphilosophie der Franziskanischen Reformation*, Stuttgart, 1934, p. 115. Cf. George Goyau, "Les étranges destinées du livre des Conformités," in *Saint François d'Assise*, Paris, 1927.

3. Both the Kuntz and the Giotto pictures are reproduced in Vittorino Facchinetti, *San Francesco d'Assisi*, Milan, 1921, pp. 414, 402.

4. Reproduced in *Mistr Jan Hus*, Prague, 1915.

5. *Storia di Fra Michele Minorita*, ed. Francesco Flora, Florence, 1942.

John Eck who debated with Luther at Leipzig. Eck of Trier examined Luther at Worms. The Cardinal Sitten was Matthew Schinner, a Swiss at first favorably disposed to Luther. The Bishop of Liège was Eberhard von Lüttich, who was credited with a very stinging list of grievances against Rome. The Archbishop of Trier was Richard von Greiffenklau, to whose arbitrament Frederick the Wise had long sought to have Luther's case referred. After the public hearings at Worms the plan was carried through, and Trier presided over a committee which gave Luther several private examinations. Hutten was an inflammatory German knight who threatened to use the sword on Luther's behalf. Carlstadt was Luther's older colleague on the faculty of the University of Wittenberg and his associate at the Leipzig Debate. Hutten and Carlstadt were included along with Luther in the papal bull of condemnation. The "Sect of Bern" is a reference to a hoax perpetrated by the Dominicans at Bern, who attempted a bogus stigmatization on the person of a recruit named Jetzer. Exposure sent several of the Dominicans to the stake.

In full imitation of biblical language the narrative proceeds:

Luther with his disciples went forth over the River Rhine and entered into Worms, where Caesar was holding a diet. Knowing that he was come, the High Priests and Pharisees assembled into the palace of the High Priest of Mainz, called Caiaphas, and consulted with the scribes how they might violate his safe conduct, and take him by subtlety and burn him. But they said, not during the Diet lest there be an uproar among the people. While then Luther was in the house of the Knights of St. John, Carraciolo called Pedico, and Aleander the Jew sought to betray him with the kiss of peace. But Luther, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth and said unto them, "Whom seek ye?" They answered unto him, "Dr. Luther." Luther said unto them, "I am he." They inquired whether he wished to come to Carraciolo and Aleander the Jew, or whether they should come to him. Luther answered, "I sat daily with them teaching in the temple and they laid no hand on me. Now therefore I do not wish to speak to them, because they have been excommunicated by me, except they wish to engage with me in public disputation." And when they heard this they went backwards and fell to the ground. Then came one from the court of the governor named Capra (Chièvre). To the papists he said, "What will ye give me and I will deliver him unto you?" And they consigned to him a large sum of ducats together with certain great prebends, benefices and dignities for his nephew who also betrayed him.

The third hour the disciples of Luther came to him saying, "At what hour wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the supper?" And Luther answering said, "The fifth," and the disciples did as Luther had commanded them and prepared the supper. Now when even was come he sat down with his disciples and friends, and as he did eat he said, "Verily I say unto you, there are those in this city who for money will betray me, and many of you will be offended in me, for it is written, 'I will smite the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered.'" Then one answered, "Though all should be offended in thee, nevertheless the Saxon will never be offended." But Luther said to him, "Before two days he will deny me thrice." But they said, "Though we should die with thee, yet will we not deny thee." Luther answered, "You will be with me in tribulations, even to the sacrifice."

The next day about the fourth hour there came the imperial marshal, Ulrich von Pappenheim, with a great company with swords and staves, sent by the governor to the princes of the empire, and they led Luther to the judgment hall. But the papists did not enter the judgment hall, that Luther might have no opportunity of disputing with them, but that he might be condemned without just cause. There was there also Annas, the Cardinal Gurk, together with the

Cardinal of Mainz. It was this Annas who counseled that it were better that one man should die for the papists than that their wickedness should be made manifest and Roman wickedness should fail. The Saxon, indeed, followed afar off and came into the judgment hall, and having entered sat down with the others that he might see the end. The High Priests and the papists then sought false testimony against Luther, that they might condemn him and burn him with fire, but they found nothing. When then many witnesses had accused him falsely there came in two tongue-thrashers, John Rabula (Glapio) and John Eck, the official of Trier, and they testified, "He said that the Council of Constance erred and that the pope is Antichrist, who however can commit no sin." Then arose Caiaphas of Mainz, the Chief Priest, and said, "What saist thou to these things that are testified against thee? I adjure thee by the living God, confess them to be true." Then Luther, undismayed, answered, "Thou hast spoken. Verily I say unto thee, I am able to prove from the testimony of scripture that which is written in my books, and unless I am convinced by sacred scripture or manifest reason, I will not recant. If I have spoken evil, bring testimony of evil. Instruct me better, for I am ready myself to cast my books into the fire. But if I have taught well, why do they kill me? Why not listen, why not answer?" Then Caiaphas of Mainz waxed hot and said, "He has blasphemed! What need have we of any further witnesses? Ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye?" And they all condemned him to be guilty of death. Then they spat upon the earth and would not hear him further, because they could not controvert him. But some cried out, "He hath a demon!"

Now the Saxon was sitting with them and there came to him the Priest of Liège and said, "Art thou a Lutheran?" And he denied it in the presence of them all, saying, "I do not know what you say." As he was going out of the door the Cardinal Sitten said to those about him, "He harbored Luther in his territory." But he denied it in the presence of them all, saying, "I know not the man." And those standing about after a pause said to the Saxon, "Truly you are a Lutheran, for your words have often shown it." Then he began to declare that he had been too occupied with other matters to pay any attention to the man. And it was evening and morning, the second day. Then the Saxon remembered his word, that before two days he would deny him thrice, and going out he declared that he would defend him before all men.

When morning was come the High Priests and the papists took counsel against Luther, that they might burn him with fire. Then they took him and turned him over to the Archbishop of Trier, and he inquired of him, "Art thou a doctor of the gospel and the truth?" And Luther said, "Saist thou this thing of thyself or did the Romanists tell it thee of me?" And the Archbishop said, "Am I a Romanist? They who cannot endure the gospel truth and the words of Paul delivered thee to me. What hast thou done?" Luther answered as a Christian, "My writings are not concerning this world but concerning God. If the papists had regarded the gospel truth and the words of Paul they would not have delivered me to thee." And Trier asked, "Art thou a doctor of evangelical truth and of St. Paul?" And Luther answered, "Thou hast said. To this was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should restore to their pristine purity the words of the gospel and of St. Paul, because the papists have distorted them to their own use and for the Roman curia, to the great detriment of the German nation. If the German nation will follow and observe my words, she will be free from the fangs of the Romanists and the courtesans." And when he was accused by the High Priests and the Romanists he answered nothing save as a Christian. Then Trier said to him, "Wilt thou submit thy writings to the judgment



FIG. 1. Bremen, Kunsthalle: Self-Portrait of Dürer as Man of Sorrows (After E. Panofsky)



FIG. 2. Fritz Kuntz, St. Francis and Christ (After V. Facchinetti, 1921, p. 414)



FIG. 3. Liebschera, Hus at the Stake



FIG. 4. Lucas Cranach, Woodcut with Self-Portrait as Simon of Cyrene. From Luther's *Passional Christi und Antichristi* of 1521



FIG. 5. Woodcut of 1545, Luther Declaring the Word of God, with John Frederick Bearing the Cross (After Geisberg)



of Caesar and the Diet?" But Luther so answered in all things that the Archbishop of Trier marveled greatly, and he said to Luther, "What is the wickedness of the Romanists and the papists?" And when he had said this from that hour he sought to free him, for he knew that he had been delivered through envy of the High Priests and papists. And the Archbishop of Trier said, "I find in him no cause of death. Will you that I release him?" But they cried out the more, "No! If he is released the whole Roman curia together with the papists and the courtesans will be reduced to poverty. There is no other way to sustain the Roman *Trias*."

When then the governor was seated on his tribunal, there came to him his wife, that is the German nation, saying, "Have nothing to do with this just man. For this night I have suffered much concerning him, and if he is burned then all German liberty will be consumed with him." Then the princes and the priests persuaded the governor to destroy Luther, and the governor said, "What shall I do with this truly Christian man, who teaches the true evangelical doctrine and desires to liberate the German nation from the snares and nets of the Romanists and courtesans?" And they all said, "Burn him!" And the governor said, "Why? What evil has he done?" But all the more they cried out, "Burn him! Burn him! Beware, if you release him you are no friend of the Roman pontiff, who will give you aid against France. Besides, we have a law, and according to this law he should die because he has written evil of the Roman Antichrist and all the courtesans." Then said the governor, "Take him and burn him according to your law." They answered, "In the German Empire it is not permitted to us to burn anyone. If we had him in Rome we could easily poison him." Then the governor saw that it did no good and that a great tumult was made among the people, that is among the Romanists, because they displayed much money and great dignities. Having then taken water and washed his hands in the presence of the people, he said, "I am innocent of the blood of this Christian man, as you see." And all the clergy and the Romanists answered, "His blood be upon our heads!"

Then the governor delivered to them the books of Luther to be burned. The priests took them, and when the princes and the people had left the Diet they made a great pyre in front of the High Priest's palace, where they burned the books; and they placed on the top a picture of Luther with this inscription, "This is Martin Luther, the Doctor of the Gospel." This title was read by many Romanists and courtesans, because the place where Luther's books were burned was not far from the bishop's court. Now this title was written in French, German and in Latin. Then the High Priests and the Romanists said to the governor, "Write not, 'a doctor of evangelical truth' but that he said, 'I am a doctor of evangelical truth.'" But the governor answered, "What I have written, I have written." This was done by some of the order of the preachers and of the Sect of Bern and of the heretics.

And with him two other doctors were burned, Hutten and Carlstadt, one on the right hand and one on the left. But the picture of Luther would not burn until the soldiers had folded it and put it inside a vessel of pitch, where it was reduced to ashes. As a count beheld these things which were done he marveled, and said, "Truly he is a Christian." And all the throng present, seeing these things which had come to pass, returned beating their breasts. The following day the chief priests and the Pharisees, together with the Romanists, went to the governor and said, "We recall that this seducer said he wished later to write greater things. Make an order therefore throughout the whole earth that his books be not sold, lest the latest error be worse than the first." But the governor said, "You have your own guard. Go publish bulls

as you know how, through your false excommunication." They then went away and put forth horrible mandates in the name of the Roman pontiff and of the emperor, to which they made additions *ad lib*.

To this day they have not been obeyed. They will see him whom they have transfixed.⁶

Even after reading this document the man of our time may still be in doubt as to how to interpret it. But this we know, that contemporaries were not shocked, neither Catholics nor Protestants, for in 1536 the Catholics employed the same device with Charles V in the rôle of Christ, and in 1546 the Lutherans did the same for the Saxon prince, John Frederick.⁷ Still more revealing is it to observe how Luther and his friends, without knowledge of this document, had in varying degrees employed the same theme. Luther himself began to draw the analogy between his trial and that of Christ when, after the interview at Augsburg, Cardinal Cajetan endeavored to persuade Frederick the Wise either to deliver Luther to Rome or at least to banish him. Luther wrote to the elector on November 19, 1518: "I cannot suffer that such a wise prince as you should be made into a Pilate, for when the Jews brought Christ before Pilate and were asked what evil he had done they answered, 'If he were not an evildoer we should not have brought him to you.' In just the same way the noble legate has brought Brother Martin with hateful words before the prince, and the prince has asked, 'What evil has he done?'"⁸ To another Luther wrote on November 25: "Cajetan advised that I be sent to Rome . . . even so did the Jews deal with Christ before Pilate, wishing him to credit them even before the crimes had been named."⁹ On January 14, 1520, Luther commented to a friend, "As Christ was formerly crucified on account of the Jews, even so am I on account of communion in both kinds."¹⁰ In his recital of the interview with Cajetan, Luther recorded, "My writings to this day have been in the house of Caiaphas, that they might find false witness against me, but they have found nothing."¹¹ On the way to Worms Luther received an ovation at Erfurt. To a friend he commented, "I have had my Palm Sunday. I wonder whether this pomp is merely a temptation or whether it is also the sign of my impending passion."¹²

The same imagery was used by Luther's friends. When his fate after the interview was still uncertain, Staupitz wrote to him, "As Christ was formerly crucified in such hate, so now I do not see what there is in store for you save the cross. Deserted, let us follow the deserted Christ."¹³ The imperial mandate calling for the sequestration of Luther's books was promulgated on March 27, which was Wednesday in Holy Week. Lazarus Spengler called attention to the coincidence, adding, "Damit Luthers Passion dem Leiden Christi ähnlich werde."¹⁴ As Luther came from his hearing at Worms a voice from the crowd called out, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee" (compare Luke 11:27).¹⁵ Even Frederick the Wise, to whom in our document was assigned the rôle of Peter, remarked that the

6. Text and notes in Otto Clemen, *Beiträge zur Reformationszeit*, Berlin, 1900-1903, III, pp. 10-15.

7. Fritz Behrend, "Das Leidensgeschichte des Herrn als Form in politisch-literarischen Kampf besonders in Reformationszeit," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XIV, 1917, pp. 49-64. See p. 53.

8. *Luthers Werke*, Weimar Ausgabe, *Briefwechsel* (abbreviation hereafter *BR*), No. 110, I, p. 243.

9. *BR*, No. 113, I, p. 256.

10. *BR*, No. 239.

11. Walch ed., XV, No. 225, col. 614.

12. *BR*, No. 395, II, p. 206.

13. *BR*, No. 119.

14. *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, Jüngere Reihe II, No. 210, p. 891.

15. Julius Köstlin, *Martin Luther*, Berlin, 1903, I, p. 412.

lords temporal and spiritual were to Luther not only as Annas and Caiaphas, but also as Pilate and Herod.¹⁶

In the time of Luther and of Dürer, heaven yet lay so close to earth, and the concepts of the *imitatio* and the *conformitas Christi* were so vivid that no sense of sacrilege attached to portraying either one's friends or oneself in the guise of Christ. These ideas found pictorial expression in Luther's circle. In the second edition of Luther's *Passional Christi und Antichristi* of 1521 Lucas Cranach introduced a new woodcut of Christ staggering under the weight of the cross and Simon of Cyrene stepping forward to carry it in his stead. To Simon the cross bearer have been given the features of Cranach himself (Fig. 4).¹⁷

An even more striking example is to be found in a Reformation woodcut of the year 1545 (Fig. 5) in which Luther is portrayed in the pulpit declaring the word of God as committed to him by the Holy Trinity through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit which as a dove hovers about his head. Below the pulpit three scenes are depicted. The first is the baptism of an infant. The second is the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, that is both the bread and the wine are dispensed to the laity. The third scene is that of the congregation gathered about the pulpit listening devoutly to Luther's sermon. Among them stands the Elector John Frederick, his head twisted backwards that his features may be unmistakable. Upon his shoulder rests a heavy wooden cross.¹⁸

Such examples enable one to comprehend how fully the men

of that generation moved in a perpetual Passion Play in which each and all might take the rôle of Christus. The morbid emphasis on the *via crucis* as the sole way of discipleship among some of Luther's followers led him to protest on countless occasions against self-imposed crosses. Let one not seek the cross but rather be found by it, he would say. Then the misfortunes and vexations of life came to be interpreted as examples of the cross and here perhaps we are closest to Dürer's depiction of disease as a cross. The perfect parallel occurs in one of Luther's letters in which, after an acute attack of constipation, he remarks, "Even so does Christ not leave us without relics of His holy cross."¹⁹

That Dürer was acquainted with the religious atmosphere which could discover in Luther a conformity to Christ is no mere conjecture. At the close of the Diet of Worms on May 17, 1521 Dürer committed to his diary this prayer: "Oh Lord, who desirest before Thou comest in judgment that as Thy Son Jesus Christ had to die at the hands of the priests and rise from the dead and ascend to heaven even so should be made conformable to Him Thy disciple Martin Luther, whose life the pope seeks with money treacherously against God, but whom Thou wilt quicken."²⁰

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19. *BR*, No. 429.

20. "Dürers Briefe, Tagebücher und Reime," hrsg. Moritz Thausing, *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, III (1872), p. 121. Only after this note was in print was I successful in obtaining access to the work of Hans Preuss, *Martin Luther der Prophet* (Gütersloh, 1933), which in two sections deals with parallels between Luther and Christ. Preuss points out for example that when Luther preaching at Erfurt on his way to Worms calmed an audience frightened by the sagging of a gallery, the town chronicler recorded, "This beginning of signs did Luther, and his disciples came and ministered unto him." Preuss shows that Catholics did take exception to this treatment of Luther but the offense lay rather in the adulation of a heretic than in the theme itself which as late as 1862 was used to compare the sufferings of Pius IX to those of his Lord.

16. Paul Kirn, "Friedrich der Weise," *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, xxx, 1926, p. 142.

17. *Luthers Werke*, Weimar Ausgabe IX, Beilage, Taf. 11a. Georg Stuhlfauth, "Selbstbildnisse und Bildnisse Lucas Cranach d. Ä. (1472-1553) und Lucas Cranach d. J. (1515-1586)," *Theologische Blätter*, xi, 1932, p. 239.

18. Max Geisberg, *Die Reformation in den Kampfbildern der Einblattholzschnitte*, Munich, 1929, No. xxxv, 7.

BOOK REVIEWS

HELEN E. FERNALD, *Chinese Court Costumes*; Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, Toronto, 1946. Pp. 21 of text, 10 pp. of Exhibition Guide, 8 pp. devoted to symbols and insignia, with sketches; 41 pls. (four in color).

The Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology in Toronto, in connection with its recent exhibition of Ch'ing Dynasty Chinese costume, issued a splendidly illustrated catalogue. Its handsome blue cover reproduces a phoenix pattern from one of the robes in the show; its excellent color plates reveal — as no amount of mere description could — the beauty and splendor of the Late Ch'ing Imperial robes; and its text undertakes to present in one great sweep the history of Chinese costume from legendary antiquity through the Ch'ing Dynasty, based upon original Chinese texts. All these features represent a most ambitious undertaking. Unfortunately, in the last case the attempt was too ambitious.

The fine pictures alone might make this a source book for the study of Chinese costume, filling a long-felt need; but the text has too many inaccuracies to permit its being used as a reference work. The chief fault seems to be that it covers too much ground too sketchily. It would have been far wiser had the writer prepared for it by a thorough study of the costume of the Ch'ing Dynasty, to which period the robes that were shown belonged, and then written a catalogue describing only these robes, with some suggestion of their historical and cultural background. Under the circumstances, the writer has done a remarkable piece of work, presenting so much material in such compact and well-written form; but it is inevitable that in such a broad study, made so quickly, there should be many errors, both in wide interpretations and in details. Let us consider some of the more obvious ones.

In the introduction (p. 8) the catalogue remarks concerning the laws for clothing in the Ch'ing Dynastic Statutes, *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien*, "the early editions are sketchy, the later offer additional but often seemingly contradictory data." This is too broad a generalization, doing these valuable sources a great injustice. In the Early Ch'ing, nobles and officials were given wide latitude in their costume — aside from the hat and belt ornaments, and the mandarin squares, all of which were minutely described because they indicated rank. The decoration of the robes, on the other hand, was left up to the individuals, provided that they did not usurp a few particular colors or forms of dragons restricted to higher ranks.¹ Consequently, the laws in the early editions of the *Hui-tien*, though confined mostly to the insignia, are as complete as was necessary at that time.

After 1759, when the details of costume were rigidly defined by new laws, to make the court and official dress more uniform and more effective for designation of rank, even the robe patterns were specifically prescribed. All these new items, and the few subsequent changes, are duly reported in the later editions of the *Hui-tien* in a manner that cannot be called contradictory, even though the vast amount of material might seem confusing at a too-quick glance.²

On page 12, the catalogue declares that "known portraits of the Ming Emperors depict them as wearing wide ceremonial aprons." However, the only portraits of the Ming Emperors known to have survived show them wearing semi-formal dragon

robes with very full skirts, but no aprons.³ Unfortunately, no portraits exist showing them in ceremonial robes, some of which did have a sort of apron. In fact the catalogue's account of Ming costume in general is an example of why it should preferably have been confined to the Ch'ing.

Perhaps the chief blunder in the pre-Ch'ing section is the remark on page 13: "Court hats for men in the Ming period were tall, tubular affairs of stiffened black gauze, with wide stiff strings standing out at the back." A strange picture indeed, and far from reality, for the actual court hats for Ming noblemen and officials were elaborate structures with a high, rounded panel behind, and a series of vertical ridges in front, the number of ridges differing for each rank.⁴ They are too complicated to describe in full here, but they in no way correspond to the description in the catalogue. The hats for ordinary wear, on informal occasions, called "black gauze caps," *wu-sha mao*, are probably what the catalogue intended to describe, but these were not tubular. They were formed of two rounded sections, one fitting the front of the head fairly snugly, and the second projecting above it at the back, to allow room for the Ming top-knot. Stiffened wings of gauze (in some cases richly ornamented) projected from the back of the hat; those for the Emperor and his sons stood up vertically, while those for ordinary nobles and officials stuck out at each side, bobbing rhythmically as the wearer strode along.⁵ The latter type may still be seen on the Chinese stage.

In introducing Manchu costume (p. 13) the catalogue says that the voluminous costume of the Ming had come down in almost unbroken continuity from at least as far back as the T'ang period, and implies that the Manchu tradition was a complete innovation. However, the native Chinese tradition of the T'ang had been broken by the Tartar Dynasties (Liao, Chin, and Yüan), and the Manchu costume was merely a continuation of their alien styles, in cut; while its patterns were chiefly borrowed from those on the Ming dragon robes.⁶ Thus it represented a fusion of two traditions, rather than an innovation.

The description of Manchu court robes (p. 14) is very confused and puzzling, giving the impression that the writer was not very familiar with this form of dress, and its evolution. The Ch'ing court robes originally were made in two pieces, a fairly tight jacket, and a voluminous skirt.⁷ Later these two parts were generally sewn together, so the band which the catalogue compares to a peplum, on the later court robes, was merely the vestigial form of the lower edge of the jacket that once projected down over the top of the skirt. The costume was completed by a spreading collar, which the catalogue calls a "cape," without which it could not be worn. The remarks about the "neckband" are not clear, apparently implying that the court robes once had a wide strip of decoration at the collar — which they did not.

3. These are preserved in the Palace Museum, Peking, and have been published in a book called *Chung-kuo li-tai ti-hou hsiang*, "Portraits of Emperors and Empresses of China" (no date, no pagination).

4. The *Ming hui-tien* (reprinted by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, in the *Wan-yu wen-k'u* series, Shanghai, 1934) describes these in 61.1532, and illustrates one on p. 1534.

5. *Ming hui-tien*, 61.1541, discusses the ordinary hats for officials, and in 60.1476 describes and pictures the Emperor's.

6. We are discussing the origin and evolution of the Manchu dragon robes in detail, in a forthcoming monograph.

7. The Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, Toronto, has some superb Early Ch'ing portraits showing these features.

1. See the *Ta Ch'ing hui-tien*, K'ang-hsi ed., 1690, ch. 48.

2. A very comprehensive summary of all Ch'ing Dynasty clothing laws is given in the *Hui-tien shih-li*, Kuang-hsü ed., 1899, ch. 328.

After a number of unfounded generalities on the men's court robes, the catalogue goes on to those for women, saying, "Late in the dynasty women of high rank frequently wore *ch'ao-fu* (court robes) exactly like those of their husbands, as can be seen in many portraits, but usually they preferred the type which only women wore." This reverses the actual order of events. Early in the Ch'ing, women of rank apparently wore court robes exactly like those of their husbands, but in the eighteenth century, a special type was evolved for women. This was prescribed by law in 1759, and after that — except for the Empress and Imperial consorts⁸ — women had only their own type.

The description of the women's court dress which follows in the catalogue is also based on faulty observation. It explains that over the robe proper was worn "a long, richly decorated sleeveless vest or stole, open down the front and sides to show the robe beneath." This gives a totally wrong impression. In the Early Ch'ing Chinese women of quality carried on the Ming tradition by wearing actual silken stoles over their robes; in later Ch'ing they joined the front panels with buttons and loops, and extended them down the back, making a sort of sleeveless vest, open at the sides. The "court vests," however, had a different evolution and a different final form. Originally they were outer jackets, or overcoats, with long sleeves, buttoning down the front. In the mid-eighteenth century, the sleeves were cut off, making a sleeveless robe or vest, but it was not open down the sides, and bore no resemblance to the stole-vests worn by Chinese women at the same period.

When the catalogue comes to dragon robes, which formed the chief exhibits at the show (p. 15), it calls them "the basic robe of the Manchus," and says that they were derived, in cut at least, from "the riding-coat of their tribe." Historically, the first Manchu dragon robes were Ming dragon robes recut to conform to the ordinary robes of the Manchus; while their riding-coats were something else again — the outer jacket or *p'u-fu* was derived from them. The dragon robe was neither the basic robe of the Manchus nor was it "the official robe of the mandarins from the highest to the lowest." In the first half of the dynasty, robes with dragon patterns were limited to the higher officials, and after 1759, when they were made the official robes for semi-formal dress, they were never worn by officials below the sixth rank.⁹

The general description of the dragon robe (page 15) says the skirt was "split front and back — and also at the sides — for riding." This needs qualification. The robes of the Emperor and the Manchu princes had these four slits; the robes of lesser nobles and officials were split only at front and back of the skirt; while the dragon robes for noblewomen and officials' wives were split only at the sides. All this is listed in the *Hui-tien*.¹⁰ As to the remark about designs and colors all differing by the sumptuary laws: except for the robes of the Imperial Family, which had a monopoly on some shades of yellow, the colors of the dragon robes were left up to the individual. The laws simply say, regarding the robes for lesser nobles and officials and their wives, "blue, blue-black, or other colors, depending on the occasion." It is also untrue to say that the dragon robe for "each rank was supposed to have its distinguishing features." Certain variations of pattern were prescribed for certain groups of ranks, but not for individual ranks.

After carefully stressing the fact that the familiar design of nine dragons was a rather late one, officially established by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor in 1759, the catalogue goes on to describe other features of the pattern, introducing some rather strange

remarks about the mountain which is figured at the base of these robes. This mountain was intended to represent the World-mountain, symbolizing the Earth in the robe's pattern of the Universe — Earth, Sea and Sky. It is ridiculous to assume, as the catalogue implies (p. 16), that the mountain was put on the robes because it appeared on Ming and Early Ch'ing porcelains, and that the textile designers found their inspiration there. It just happens that various forms of ceramics were sometimes painted to represent the Universe, too.

The catalogue says of the mountain, "Some say that it is Mount Meru sacred to the Buddhists. It has also been declared that the three peaks are the three 'Isles of the Immortals' of Taoist lore." In the first place, the Chinese don't have the term "Mount Meru," which is Indian. They generally call the Buddhist World-mountain "*Miao-kao-shan*," but they more usually think of *K'un-lun Shan*, the World-mountain of later Chinese cosmology, as the center of the Universe; and no doubt the people who wore these robes, if asked about it, would have said that the mountain represented *K'un-lun Shan*.

As to the suggestion that the triple mountain mass might represent the Isles of the Immortals, that is impossible. These are peaks not islands. Occasionally, however, especially on Middle Ch'ing funerary robes, one finds three rocky islands rising from a storm-tossed sea, from which spring pines and the fungus of Immortality. Sometimes they have the pavilions of the Immortals as well. These are the Isles of the Immortals, beyond question. The usual three (or five) peaks at the base of the dragon robes have no connection with these islands, except for the fact that when the Isles of the Immortals are used, instead of the peaks, they take the place of the latter as symbols of the Earth, or Land, in the Universal diagram of Land, Sea, and Sky.¹¹

Perhaps the most startling bit of misstatement in the catalogue is Bishop White's assertion (pp. 16-17) that this mountain represents the traditional Dragon Gate, or *Lung Mên*, through which the carp leaps to become a dragon, in the symbol of the successful scholar. The Dragon Gate in Chinese art is a literal gate consisting of one, or three, arches (the latter form suggesting a *p'ai-lou*); it is never a mountain mass of three, or five, peaks. This assertion about the Dragon Gate is defended in the catalogue by the remark that "since these robes were designed for officials, most of whom had attained office by earning their degrees through scholarship, it would seem a most appropriate symbolism." If this mountain were intended to be the Dragon Gate, it would be most inappropriate. Historically these robes were originally worn by the Manchu Emperor and his princes and courtiers, none of whom had to pass any civil service examinations. Later they were bestowed on military officials, and only considerably later were they permitted to the civil officials as well. Only the officials attained office by examination, and throughout the dynasty many took a short-cut by purchasing their initial positions. This is why the Dragon Gate is never shown on these robes.

In going on to discuss the arrangement of the dragons on the robes (p. 17) the catalogue describes the way they were disposed on the formal jackets, called *p'u-fu*, which has no relation whatever to their appearance on the dragon robes.¹² It is absolutely impossible to say that a given dragon robe was made for a specific rank, especially for Early Ch'ing, when the widest latitude was permitted in the choice of patterns.

Again we read of the "officially prescribed" colors, but as we have noted, aside from the various shades of yellow that could be worn only by the Imperial Family and the highest princes, the color of the robe was left to the individual. Even the Em-

8. The Empress and the Imperial consorts had one type of court robe that resembled the Emperor's, apparently a survival from the earlier custom.

9. A dragon robe of archaic type was prescribed for officials below the sixth rank in 1759, but there is no evidence that these were ever worn.

10. *Hui-tien shih-li* (Kuang-hsi ed.), 328.5, 5b.

11. We have discussed the World-mountain, and these islands, more fully in an article for the Coomaraswamy Jubilee Volume, *Art and Thought*, now being published in India.

12. The references in the K'ang-hsi ed. of the *Hui-tien* are clearly discussing the pattern of the insignia on the jackets, and not those on the dragon robes.

peror and Empress could, and did, wear other colors besides yellow.

In describing (for the first time) an unusual form of dragon robe with an odd group of symbols, the catalogue wrongly calls them "Dragon Robes with Six Symbols." They are in reality Five-Symbol robes, because the constellation of the Great Dipper is split to form two groups of stars in order to balance the pattern on the back of the robe. Collectively the stars still form one symbol out of the original group of twelve from which these were borrowed. The author belatedly suggests this fact as a possibility (p. 22), but she did not change the name of the category, accordingly.

In describing the Museum's K'ang-hsi period Dragon Robe (p. 22), the catalogue attempts to relate its principal dragon to some on one of the much later "Kuo Ch'in Wang" robes in the Nelson Gallery. Apparently the author has been led to believe the popular myth that these robes from the Tomb of Prince Kuo reflect K'ang-hsi styles, which they most certainly do not. (They represent the much more sophisticated styles of the Early Ch'ien-lung period, when they were made and buried.) Furthermore, although this Toronto robe was obviously a woman's by cut,¹³ it is suggested that it might have been worn by an Emperor. Lastly, this section says the portraits of the K'ang-hsi Emperor show the dragon on the breast of the robe coiled around a fancy *shou* character. This is another case of too hasty observation because the only portrait of him that has this is an obvious forgery, painted long after his death.¹⁴

In discussing "The Gold Tapestry Robe" (p. 23), the catalogue is at first uncertain whether it was a man's or a woman's robe, then it says that its color indicates that it was made for a concubine of second or third rank. Further on (p. 35) this same robe is listed as a "Robe of Titled Prince of First Degree or Imperial Consort of Second Degree"; while the caption to its illustration (pl. xv) describes it as a "Dragon Robe, probably of an Imperial Consort of the Second Degree." All this vacillation should have been unnecessary, as the skirt is split in front and back for a horseback-riding male.

Incidentally, the "palace roofs" or "palace pavilions" described on this robe (pp. 23 and 35) are shown in the illustration (pl. xv) to be the Buddhist canopy and state umbrella, and not architectural forms at all. (There are no specifications for palace roofs on the robes of the Empress in the laws of 1759, as implied on p. 23. The illustrations for the Empress's robes in the illustrated statutes of that year [*Huang-ch'ao li-ch'i t'u-shih*] happen to have these details, but it does not represent a literal pattern to be followed, being merely a sample.¹⁵)

The attempt to attribute this "gold tapestry robe" and several others to persons of specific rank is a great weakness of this catalogue, especially apparent in the Exhibition Guide (pp. 33-42). The latitude of the Ch'ing laws for dragon robes — even the later ones — was so broad that many ranks could wear the same general type of dragon robe, especially after the almost universal use of the fifth claw on the *man* dragons became an accepted evil in the period of dynastic decline. In practice, the decoration on the dragon robe was never a precise designation of rank. The hat and belt ornaments and the "mandarin squares" on the outer jacket were, however, and this brings us to the subject of costume accessories.

The sections describing the accessories of official dress, and the insignia of nobles and officials (pp. 24-26 of text, and p. 51) are among the weakest in the catalogue. Again we point out that it would have been sensible to confine the discussion to the Ch'ing robes, and treat them more thoroughly, disregarding everything else.

In discussing hats, it is misleading to say, "Although the nobles and officials of first rank were entitled to wear a ruby on their (less-formal) hat also, in practice they usually used coral like those of the second class." The high nobles were entitled to wear a ruby on their hats and did so; the officials of the first rank were required to wear a coral and they did so, but it was a plain coral, unlike those of the second rank, whose coral was engraved with a *shou* character.¹⁶

In speaking of the peacock feathers worn on the hats, the writer apparently did not realize that it was a required part of the costume for nobles, and was not "also worn on the hat by officials of all ranks" who had been honored by the Emperor. Only officials above the sixth rank could be awarded it. (Worthy officials below the sixth rank were bestowed the blue feather, popularly called "old crow-quill," *lao-kua ling*.)

The catalogue fails to mention that the belt ornaments were official marks of rank just as important as the hat jewels and mandarin squares. It is not true that they were ornamented merely with plaques of jade or inlaid gilt-bronze, and these official belt ornaments did not bear "the *wan* or *shou* character." Furthermore the Chinese and Manchu officials did not carry betel nuts in the pouches suspended from their belts (p. 25), except perhaps in Southernmost China. Betel chewing was not a custom of the Manchus, nor of most Chinese.

It is not true to say of the mandarin square (p. 25), "Some confusion exists as to who was to wear what in the early years of the dynasty, but from 1759 on the insignia were clearly defined for each rank." The pattern on the mandarin squares for each rank of official was fixed in 1652, and except for three small changes in the military squares (in 1662, 1664, and 1759), they remained the same throughout the dynasty.¹⁷ As for the specific patterns of animals and birds that served as indications of rank, the list on page 51 of the catalogue is quite inaccurate, but we shall take that up later.

The "chain of mandarin beads" was not "always a part of the official costume" (p. 26). Until the Ch'ien-lung reign (mid-eighteenth century), even the nobles did not always wear them, and only gradually did it become customary for officials to do so. Finally, after 1759, they were required for all nobles, military officials down to the fourth rank, and civil officials through the fifth rank, with a few lesser officials who had special duties during certain state functions.¹⁸

These beads were not merely "like the Buddhist rosary," they were the conventional Lama Buddhist rosaries complete with counting beads for recording the number of prayers said (the counters had nothing to do with the "Five Elements"). Through faulty observation of portraits, instead of consulting the laws, the writer apparently got the impression that the Manchu women had another long string of beads rather inconveniently worn (p. 26). Actually, after 1759, noblewomen and wives of officials through the fifth rank wore three chains of these beads, all identical in size and form (although sometimes the beads of the side chains were of different substances).¹⁹

The women's ceremonial hats in the Ch'ing did not have floral forms and butterflies on them, as stated on page 26. Only their informal headdresses had such decoration. The noblewomen's ceremonial hats had only jewelled birds — phoenixes or tartar pheasants — which were indications of rank; while wives of Manchu officials, and Chinese officials in the capital, wore hats like their husbands, except that they had extra jewelled pins on the upper fringe.²⁰

Pages 45 to 50 have tables of symbols beautifully drawn by

13. Its skirts are not split for horseback riding.

14. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIII, 1943, p. 296. The other portraits of this Emperor (published in *Ch'ing-tai ti-hou hsiang*, 1) have no such decoration on the robes.

15. *Op. cit.*, 6.31.

16. *Li-ch'i t'u-shih*, 5.9b (first rank), 31b (second rank).

17. See S. Cammann, "Development of the Mandarin Square," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VIII, 1944, pp. 82-83.

18. *Li-ch'i t'u-shih*, 5.8b.

19. *Ibid.*, 6.24, 7.9b.

20. *Ibid.*, chs. 6, 7.

the writer, who is an artist of great ability. Unfortunately, however, her knowledge of them is not as great as her skill in depicting them. Page 48 has "Six of the Eight Precious Things of Ancient Lore," with the explanation that two more are rarely depicted on the robes. One of these, the artemisia leaf, is never shown on the robes, but the writer has missed a much more important point. As we have previously shown elsewhere, the Chinese had at least sixteen "Precious Things," of which only seven or eight are usually used at one time; but any combination is possible, and it is futile to try to limit them to six.²¹

Similarly, in depicting the Flowers of the Four Seasons (p. 48), the writer has missed the point that the symbolic number four is what is important, but that there is great variation in the flowers that may be chosen to represent each season. For example, the description of robe No. 86 (p. 40) lists another familiar combination, in which the grass orchid is used as the flower for spring instead of the peony. The latter, by the way, is used in most combinations as the flower for summer, instead of spring as stated in the catalogue.

Aside from these, the mistakes are mostly in the captions, such as No. 8 on p. 49, where the ingot (*ting*) is represented with the explanation that, tied with a ribbon, it stands for *ting*, to fix, forming the rebus, "May it be fixed (as you desire)." Of course this is incorrect. The ingot is usually simply one of the large group of "Precious Things," used as a symbol of Wealth. It cannot serve as a rebus, or punning symbol, by itself; but in combination with other objects, such as the brush and scepter, or the halberds, it does have the pun-meaning "certainly" (*i ting*).²²

When we come to page 50, the tables for Insignia, we find some of the most misleading errors. As one of our articles ("The Development of the Mandarin Square") has been egregiously misquoted as one of the sources for this page, we feel an especial obligation to set matters right. We have already pointed out one of the errors in the catalogue regarding hat jewels, but there are more here. In the first place, the laws quoted in the *Hui-tien* clearly state that after 1730 the court hats and the less formal hats worn with the dragon robes had two separate types of jewelled insignia, which we have called "hat-spikes" and "hat-knobs," in an effort to find terms that described their appearance. (Before 1730 the Manchus merely had hat-spikes, which were worn only for very formal occasions, and were otherwise removed.) The catalogue gives the impression that the same jewels were used for both types of insignia, and is very confused in its listing of them. To take only one point, the "small jewel" referred to in the description of the official hats was not worn on the hat brim, but was part of the ornamentation on the hat-spike itself.

Several mistakes were made in listing the birds and animals on the mandarin squares. It is far-fetched to speak of the "Malay" peacock, and the "lesser" egret, because the birds and animals on the squares were heraldic creatures, and — except in the case of the two kinds of pheasants — those who made them took no pains to represent a given species, much less a subspecies. At the same time, the last three animals (for the military ranks) were wrongly given. After 1759, both the seventh- and eighth-rank officials wore the "rhinoceros," while the ninth rank wore a horse shown galloping over the waves, as its name "Sea Horse" might imply — certainly not a seal, as the catalogue has it.²³

In partial recompense for all its errors, the catalogue does contain some contributions to the study of Chinese costume. For example it dates Toronto's earliest Twelve Symbol robes —

which are fully as old as any now in the States — in the reign of Ch'ien-lung, instead of pre-dating them as coming from the K'ang-hsi reign, as has been the fashion at most of the recent exhibitions. This dating is historically more tenable, and we hope that others will follow this example. Secondly, it calls attention to the fact that noblewomen's dragon robes, at least in the latter half of the dynasty, had extra bands on the sleeves (p. 23). This point should clear up some of the confusion in our museums as to whether certain robes belonged to an Emperor or an Empress, Imperial Consorts or noblemen; but, oddly enough, the catalogue did not apply it for solving some of its own problems in that line.

We believe that any exhibition catalogue that is intended as more than a mere guide, as this was, should avoid an overly-technical discussion of the subject, presenting the basic material simply and clearly. The Toronto catalogue meets the requirement of clarity, but it does not approach the other, equally important one: which is that such a catalogue should contain the verified facts on the subject of the displays, through which the average exhibition-goer may be led to understand what he sees, and from which the student — even after the show is over — may glean firm, true concepts on which to base further knowledge.

SCHUYLER CAMMANN

RICARDO DEL ARCO Y GARAY, *Catálogo monumental de España: Huesca*, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, Madrid, 1942, 2 vols. Pp. 444; 1025 figs. 60 pesetas.

Some forty years ago the Spanish Government endorsed a plan to have a series of catalogues issued, listing all the art monuments in Spain. Eventually all the art treasures of the provinces of the Iberian Peninsula would be published by the most competent and able scholars in the country. To date the monuments in seven provinces have appeared; those of Badajoz and Cáceres by the late eminent classical archaeologist, José Ramón Mélida, and the provinces of Leon and Zamora by the patriarch of Spanish scholars, Manuel Gómez-Moreno.

It is, indeed, most fortunate that the volumes dealing with the province of Huesca have been written by such an eminent authority in Aragon as Ricardo del Arco. For most of his life this scholar has worked as the *cronista* of the province of Huesca, and during the past forty years he has published an endless number of books and articles dealing with various aspects of historical data not only in this province but in all sections of Aragon. Some extent of his knowledge can be gleaned by the list of his works, published at the end of his volume on Aragon,¹ and those listed in the present publication (pp. 84-85).

As an introduction, the author summarizes briefly the chief periods of art in the province of Huesca. There are few examples of prehistoric remains; the best Roman architectural fragments and mosaics are preserved at Fraga; and most of the preserved monuments are mediaeval. No Visigothic churches are preserved and, since the Arabs did not permanently occupy northern Aragon, none of their monuments exist. During the tenth and eleventh centuries many Benedictine monasteries were founded, and San Juan de la Peña contains the only example of Mozarabic architecture in Aragon. Jaca was the site of the first royal court and this was later transferred to Huesca, after its capture in 1096. In the twelfth century the small Aragonese Kingdom was joined with that of Catalonia and henceforth was allied to the Kingdom of Aragon. The Gothic period was not particularly significant and there is no Mudejar architecture in upper Aragon. As for the Renaissance, some of the finest sculpture was carved by Gil Morlanes (the father) and Damian

21. "Development of the Mandarin Square," p. 111.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 114 and note 108.

23. Other Western writers have made this error, owing to the more modern, alternative translation for the animal's name, *hai-ma*; but the modern reading certainly does not apply here. See "Development of the Mandarin Square," p. 110.

1. Ricardo del Arco, *Aragón, Geografía: historia: arte*, Huesca, 1931, pp. 681-683.

Forment, one of the greatest of the sixteenth-century sculptors in Spain.

After this brief general summary, the author discusses with greatest care and fidelity all the monuments of the eight districts of the province of Huesca. The Gothic cathedral of Huesca is first considered, with its carved retablo from Montearagon and the great alabaster retablo by Damian Forment (1520-1534). He also discusses the fourteenth-century painted antependium of SS. Philip and Santiago, now in Barcelona, and the retablo of the Coronation, showing the style of the great master of Guimerá. The library is also accurately described, with its splendid collection of Limoges enamels, silver, reliquary busts, and illuminated manuscripts. Among the other important monuments in the city are the church and Romanesque cloister of San Pedro el Viejo, some of whose original capitals have been removed to the museum of Huesca.² Other monuments in the district are the small church of San Miguel, at Barluenga, San Miguel of Foces at Ibieca, with an important series of tomb paintings, and a hermitage at Liesa with mural and panel paintings. The Romanesque castle of Loarre is unique in Spain and the capitals of the church recall contemporary Arabic work.³

In the district of Barbastro, in the town of Alquézar, the cloister of the church of the castle contains Gothic mural paintings and the Colegiata has an interesting series of vestments. The Cathedral of Barbastro, begun in 1500 and completed in 1533, contains a large retablo, the central portion of which was carved by Forment. From Berbegal came an important late thirteenth-century painted antependium with the Saviour and twelve Apostles, now in the Episcopal Museum in Lerida. A series of Gothic wall paintings is preserved in the Church of San Fructuoso, in Bierge. In the church of the Seminario Conciliar have been gathered many art objects from the diocese. One of the most interesting is a Romanesque rectangular wooden retablo from the Monastery of Santa Maria de Obarra, showing Apostles standing under semicircular arches, one of the earliest known retables preserved in Spain.

The most important monument in the district of Benabarre is the former cathedral of Roda de Isabena, which contains a rich series of mediaeval monuments. An immense Romanesque sarcophagus in the crypt of San Ramón is carved with Infancy scenes. In one crypt are Romanesque mural paintings with figures of the *Majestas Domini*, Baptism of Christ, and Saint Michael, and in another chapel are bust figures of saints. Among the Romanesque treasures are the richly carved wooden episcopal folding-chair of San Valero, painted and carved ivory liturgical combs, and Limoges enamel croziers as well as a rich series of miters, and fragments of early vestments. To the new Cathedral of Lerida were taken two magnificent dalmatics, a pectoral, a pluvial cape, all cut from Moslem textiles. The rectangular decorative patterns are surrounded by an Arabic inscription woven in gold thread. This unique collection of textiles, formerly in the collection of Don Luis Plandiura, is today preserved in the Barcelona Museum.

Another important Romanesque church in this district is the Monastery of Obarra in Calvara, of the eleventh century, with Lombard decoration on the exterior of the apse. From the village of Tresera came one of the earliest altar-frontals with stucco background, now in the Episcopal Museum of Lerida. The Saviour, seated in the central compartment under a trefoil arch,

is surrounded by four scenes from the life and martyrdom of Saint Vincent, a native saint of Aragon.⁴

The district of Boltaña contains a number of small towns, and one of the most typical mediaeval villages in Aragon is Ainsa with its *Plaza Mayor*. The church in Benasque contains a well-preserved carved wooden crucifixion of the thirteenth century and in the village of Javierre is preserved a badly damaged antependium containing scenes from the life of Santa Eulalia de Merida.

Some of the earliest and most important Romanesque monuments are situated in the district of Jaca. One of the most picturesque monasteries, which served as the cradle of the Reconquest in Aragon, was that of San Juan de la Peña. The subterranean first church was Mozarabic, probably built in the ninth century, and above it is the Romanesque structure consecrated in 1094. The church served as a pantheon, where the earliest kings and nobility of Aragon and Navarre were buried. The cloister is unique in that it is completely sheltered by the overhanging rock of the cliff. The iconography and style of the Romanesque capitals probably can be dated in the second half of the twelfth century.⁵

Jaca was an important center during the eleventh century. Ramiro I, the son of Sancho Garcés III, King of Navarre, acquired Aragon as his kingdom (1035-1063), established his royal court there, and the court remained in this city until it was moved to Huesca in 1096. The most important Romanesque monument is the Cathedral of Jaca, the oldest in Spain, begun by King Ramiro I after 1054 and which must have been largely constructed by the year 1063, since in that year a famous church Council met in the cathedral. This harmonious and immense building consisted of a nave, side aisles, three semicircular apses, transept, and the crossing was covered by a dome on squinches. There was a rectangular porch at the west end and the church was completely covered with stone vaulting. In Spain there was no building which could be compared with it from the point of view of architectural construction and sculptural decoration. In 1791 the east end was largely removed, the apse was lengthened and in the sixteenth century the original Romanesque barrel vaulting was removed and replaced by a decadent Gothic structure. Early in the twelfth century a cloister was added. Another unusual feature of the cathedral was the profuse use of sculpture. Some of the capitals were historiated, others showed fantasy, and on the exterior of the east end of the apse are capitals influenced by Byzantine models, with modillions and metopes carved with different subjects.⁶

The church of the convent at Santa Cruz de la Seros was being constructed in 1095 and the apse still stands which was enlarged in the twelfth century. The cloister has entirely disappeared, but fragments of earlier capitals are preserved inside the nave. From this convent came the interesting carved sarcophagus of the Infanta Doña Sancha, who died in 1095 in the Convent of Santa Cruz de la Seros, and whose soul is portrayed as a nude figure within a mandorla supported by two angels. Other Romanesque monuments in this region are the Hermitage of Santiago in Aguéro, with the Adoration of the Magi, carved in the tympanum of the portal of the small church of Santa Maria of Iguácel, founded by Count Sancho Galíndez, and dated by an

4. The Moslem elements in the composition and background and the close affinity of the figure style to Byzantine models, I discussed in "The Earliest Stucco Altar-Frontals in Catalonia," *Art Studies*, II, 1924, pp. 55-64.

5. For a study of the architecture see Whitehill, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-255, and for a study of the capitals in the cloister see Dustin Rice, *The Iconography of the Capitals of San Juan de la Peña*, New York, 1937, an unpublished M.A. thesis in the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University.

6. The author fails to mention the excellent study of the sculpture in this cathedral by Gaillard, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-119, pls. xxxviii-LIII. See also Whitehill, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-241; Georgiana G. King, *The Way of St. James*, New York, 1920, I, pp. 157-165. A recent study of the sculpture has been made by Mildred Steinbach, *The Romanesque Sculpture of the Cathedral of Jaca*, New York, 1946, an unpublished M.A. thesis in the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University.

2. Cf. Greta A. Cornell, *The Romanesque Sculpture of San Pedro el Viejo*, Huesca, New York, 1937, an unpublished M.A. thesis in the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University.

3. The author fails to mention the significant architectural study of this monument by Walter M. Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. 244-249, and the careful analysis of its sculpture by Georges Gaillard, *Les débuts de la sculpture romane espagnole*, Paris, 1938, pp. 134-145, pls. LIX-LXVI.

inscription above the portal as completed in 1072. The Monastery of San Pedro in Hecho, dated about 1072, is completely devoid of sculptured decoration.⁷

In his discussion of the province of Sarinena, the author analyzes and publishes a number of minor works in the town of Castejón de Monegros, Laraja, which contains the fragments of a Gothic retable showing the style of the master of Arguis, Pallaruelo de Monegros, where there is a large elaborate Gothic retable, and Peralta de Alcofea, where the tympanum of the portal shows the Adoration of the Magi. From Tamarite de Litera came a fine retable, a frontal of the early fourteenth century containing one of the earliest scenes of the life of St. Dominic. However, the author is in error that this was formerly owned by Sr. Plandiura. It was never in his collection, but was one of the earliest panels acquired by José Pijoan for the Museo de la Ciudadela in Barcelona, and is one of the most individual Gothic antependia today in Barcelona.

The most outstanding monument in the district of Sarinena is the famous convent of Sigüenza, which was founded by Queen Doña Sancha, wife of Alfonso II of Aragon. Work was begun in 1183 and was so advanced in construction that it was used by the first nuns, one of whom was Doña Dulce, a princess of eight years of age. According to Lampérez the plan follows the type of Saint-Gall. Catalan influence appears in the structure and in details, and Moslem features in the wooden roofs. The Cistercian portal is salient, severe, and consists of fourteen semi-circular archivolt supported by columns. The church has the form of a Latin cross, with nave, transept, apses and a barrel vault. The wall of the choir was originally decorated with wall paintings, but was later covered with plaster. These have now been uncovered and the dilapidated fragments show a certain elegance of style and may have been executed during the early fourteenth century. On the walls of the Chapel of the Trinity are many sepulchral urns, made of wood, the covers of which are painted with the portrait of the deceased princess or noble woman enclosed therein, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

The large, wide Chapter House (Sala Capitular) supported by five transverse pointed arches, with carved wooden *artesonado* ceilings, is completely decorated with a notable series of paintings of the fourteenth century. On the intradoses of the arches are represented the busts of those personages forming the Genealogy of Christ, according to Saint Luke. The tympanum of the arches contains twenty magnificent scenes from the Old Testament, two on each side, such as the Creation of Adam and Eve, Adam and Eve Driven from Paradise, Cain and Abel, and the Exodus of the Israelites. On the lateral walls and end of the Chapter House were scenes showing the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and Annunciation to the Shepherds. Lampérez believes the style is Sicilian, because of the relations of the royal Aragonese family with Southern Italy, and Dr. Chandler Post points out the obvious relations of these paintings to those of Cavallini, whose work in Rome shows strong Byzantine influence.

One of the greatest tragedies of the Civil War in Spain was the sacking and burning of this Chapter House by a group of anarchists from Barcelona who, on their way to attack Nationalists in Huesca, stopped long enough at this convent to set it on fire. Before reaching Huesca, the men were caught and enfiladed by the machine guns of the Nationalist Spanish army and nearly all the perpetrators of this sacrilege were killed. Shortly before this, José Gudiol of Barcelona had photographed the paintings in great detail, and his films are the only evidence now extant of one of the greatest series of mural paintings of the province of Huesca.⁸

7. For a discussion of the architecture of many of these early Aragonese monuments see Whitehill, *op. cit.*, chap. vi, pp. 235-265.

8. Cf. Esther C. Lewittes, *The Old Testament Representations in the Chapter House of the Convent of Sigüenza*, 1938, an unpublished M.A. thesis in the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University.

No one can appreciate better than the writer of this criticism, who has seen and studied many of the monuments of the province of Huesca, the excellence of Sr. del Arco's publication. The careful description, documentation, and painstaking accuracy of the text make this an invaluable work, and represent a lifetime of careful research. The volume, with more than a thousand illustrations, will be welcomed by all scholars interested in Spain. Let us hope that the same author will also be interested in writing similar volumes for other provinces of Aragon.

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B. DEGENHART, *Pisanello*, Turin, Chiantore, 1945. Pp. 84; 8 color plates (frontispiece and plates I-VII), 181 figs. (numbered I-163). Lire 1600.

This is an unusually attractive volume to come from a war-torn country. It is carefully printed on good paper, attractively decorated with wood engravings by Cumino after Pisanello drawings, and well illustrated by a series of plates which present Pisanello's *oeuvre* as exhaustively and as well as we have ever seen. Yet, the complicated collation given above shows that the history of the volume was anything but undisturbed by the difficult times. The book is a translation of the author's *Antonio Pisanello*, Vienna, Schroll (1940), which seems to have run into a number of editions. The text of this Italian translation is, but for a few corrections and additions, identical with the German original. The translation is fair and, in general, plainer than the more ambitious German text. At times it is, however, not quite accurate, and it is to be regretted that the author obviously had no chance to check it. The illustrations in the Italian edition are increased in number; some good color plates have been added, unfortunately, apparently as an afterthought, so that in most cases they repeat the black and whites. A lack of integration is also seen in the addition of the portrait of Emperor Sigismund in Vienna, which is illustrated on two plates, one of which is in color; its attribution to Pisanello, however, is mentioned only in a note and with a reference to a previously written article, of which even the author does not seem to know whether it was ever published. While the other blemishes are of little importance, this latter is regrettable, as it leaves one of the most important novelties of the volume dangling in the air. Of the two editions, the Italian one seems preferable because its text is more up-to-date and it contains more material.

The book is not intended to replace Sir George F. Hill's masterly monograph (London, 1905), though it incorporates the results of more recent investigation and often arrives at a different evaluation of Pisanello's works. For a complete bibliography the reader is referred to a monograph by the late Adolfo Venturi (1939) which I have not yet seen. The main preoccupation of the author in his text is an interpretation of Pisanello's style, a sketch of his artistic development, and an attempt to establish his place in the history of Italian art. The biographical material is contained in an introductory section, the importance of which, however, lies more in its attempt to sketch the artistic background for Pisanello than in an enumeration of facts. As was to be expected from a specialist in drawings like Dr. Degenhart, greater emphasis is given to Pisanello's drawings than to his pictures and medals. The latter are well illustrated and duly treated in the text; the critical and historical re-evaluation of the artist, however, is primarily based on the former. No exception can be taken to that, as drawings constitute the main bulk of Pisanello's preserved *oeuvre*. Dr. Degenhart is particularly qualified to write on Pisanello because he is better acquainted with early Italian drawings than anyone alive, and because he has an unusual sensitivity to graphic values, as is demonstrated by his many previous studies.

Dr. Degenhart knows how to read and analyze a drawing or a picture as intelligently as any of the great connoisseurs of the

past. His characterizations of Pisanello's works are exceedingly well done; his analytical comparisons, like those between Altichiero and Stefano da Verona (pp. 9 f.) and Stefano and Pisanello (pp. 12 f.), are most methodical. As an interpretation of the work of a complex and subtle artist, the book is masterly. Dr. Degenhart's procedure, however, is by no means haphazardly impressionistic, but determined by a desire to build up as vast a general panorama of the art of the period as possible, with Pisanello as its focal point. One may ask one's self whether he did not undertake too much, considering the little space that an introduction to a picture book affords. His comprehensive program has forced him to fill his pages to the breaking point with ideas and information, so that his text has become difficult to read, particularly for the conscientious student who wants to catch all the implications of what the author has to say. In order to do full justice to the thought contained in the book, the reader ought to be acquainted with two previous studies of the author¹ in which he has set forth at greater length and systematically the framework of the historical construction into which he fits Pisanello and which in this book appears only in snatches. On the other hand, in many respects, the book points forward to Dr. Degenhart's forthcoming *Corpus of Early Italian Drawings*. While writing what was to be essentially a general summary, he must have felt an obligation to document some attributions and datings in a thoroughgoing fashion. That has led him, time and again, into discussions of drawings not reproduced and of details like water marks, old inscriptions, old inventory numbers, early collections, etc., in brief, matter which in the *Corpus* would be in its proper place, which, however, mixes poorly with the text of the book. Even should we grant that such anticipations of the *Corpus* were necessary, the question would remain whether they should not have been confined to the notes, or included in a detailed catalogue at the end of the volume. In that case the documentation could also have been more complete and more consistent, so that it would have meant more to the specialist. The reviewer feels sorry for the author for obviously having been caught in a conflict between the character of the book he was supposed to write and his conscience, which did not allow him to treat a difficult topic in a lighter fashion.

It is not quite easy to abstract the fundamental thought from the book. I hope that the following outline is an accurate enough account to allow a closer examination of Dr. Degenhart's ideas concerning Pisanello's place in his time. Dr. Degenhart sees Pisanello's style as geographically conditioned, in accordance with the principles laid down in his *Graphologie der Handzeichnung*. And he finds in the mixture of North Italian, more specifically, Veronese, and Central Italian elements the cause for what he considers Pisanello's position. To him Pisanello is the last exponent of what is generally called with little precision the "international style." This style, according to Dr. Degenhart, was particularly congenial to the region in which Pisanello grew up; it was the style which constituted the foundation of his art and which he never overcame, despite increasing concessions to Central Italian ideas, which pushed him in the direction of the Florentine Renaissance. These more advanced elements, the argument continues, never got the upper hand and, instead of helping him to find a real contact with the advancing Renaissance, only alienated him from his traditions. The result was a stalemate which did not allow him or anyone else to advance further in either direction. This situation, still according to Dr. Degenhart, accounts for the fact that Pisanello never founded a school, even though he was not without

influence, particularly in the art of the medal, whose creator he was and whose later adepts were all in his debt. At first glance, there might seem to be little to disagree with in this description of Pisanello's position. At closer inspection, however, it becomes apparent that the whole picture is held together by so deterministic a conception of history and by so rigorous a schematism of cause and effect that the more skeptically inclined reader begins to doubt the seeming inevitability of these conclusions.

There is no question about the Veronese origins of Pisanello's art: Stefano da Verona, whose style we know better since Dr. Degenhart's investigation of his drawings, must have been his teacher; Altichiero and Avanzo are his artistic forebears. The influence on him of the Lombards, of people like Giovannino dei Grassi and Leonardo da Besozzo has also been made perfectly evident by Dr. Degenhart's identification of Pisanello's copies after earlier Lombard drawings. The Central Italian features of his style can be explained in a variety of ways: Tuscan work was to be seen in Upper Italy itself, e.g., at Padua, from where the influence of Giotto's frescoes was radiating. Besides, Pisanello came early under the sway of Gentile da Fabriano; it is even very likely that, as Dr. Degenhart suggests, he served a real apprenticeship under the master from the Marches.² Are these not sufficient causes to explain the composition of Pisanello's style? And is it necessary to drag in the fact that Pisanello was born to a Tuscan father by a Veronese mother? There seems nothing to be gained by the assumption of this remote control by such family accidents (N.B. Pisanello's father died when his son can have been only a few years old).

Dr. Degenhart seems to need such explanations, though, because the theory of his *Graphologie der Handzeichnung* makes him see the various Italian schools as curiously pigeonholed — each having its own inflexible basic character so that a more than superficial interchange between them does not seem to be possible, but for such genealogical connections. This assumption, on the one hand, strangely colors Dr. Degenhart's conception of the rôle the different schools played in the development of the fifteenth century and, on the other hand, is responsible for the conclusions which he draws from his analysis of Pisanello's style. The book contains many enlightened statements on the changing predominance of the various schools during the fifteenth century; indeed, the factual situation is correctly described. And yet, it seems not too convincing when the emergence or the decline of the various schools is explained more or less as the consequence of the timeliness or untimeliness of the innate stylistic tendencies of these schools. Actually, the author has to force his interpretation of the local styles, in order to prove his point and, by doing so, distorts the whole picture. Were these schools really so one-sidedly orientated and, consequently, so different from each other as the author wishes us to believe? Was Upper Italy by nature disposed toward the beauty of line, and hence the chosen region for the "international style," and Tuscany toward plasticity, and hence predestined for the Renaissance? Furthermore, can "international style" and Renaissance be so sharply contrasted with each other as Dr. Degenhart suggests? The later history of North Italian painting includes men like Domenico and Francesco Morone, Girolamo dei Libri, Michele da Verona, Foppa, Butinone, Bramantino, Borgognone, Boccaccio, the followers of Leonardo in and around Milan, who, with too many others to mention here, were all deeply interested in strong modelling, and in sculptural effects, sometimes to the total exclusion of calligraphic effects of line. That can only mean that Dr. Degenhart's principles, which were very important for the analysis and the understanding of the "graphology" of drawings in given periods,

1. Zur *Graphologie der Handzeichnung*, in *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1937, pp. 225 f., for which see my review in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, pp. 329 f., and a remarkable new book, *Europäische Handzeichnungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, Berlin and Zurich, 1943, which gives in extremely concentrated fashion a survey of the development of drawing from the Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century.

2. The question whether Pisanello in his turn influenced Gentile, as Dr. Degenhart suggests, is a point which would need much more clarification.

cannot be applied to drawing and painting throughout the succession of the centuries.

On the other hand, Tuscany had artists too who were fascinated by the possibilities of ornamental line. Dr. Degenhart never mentions the rôle which Siena played in the formation of the "international style," and seems to forget the importance, as masters of line, of Simone Martini, Sassetta, Lorenzo Monaco, and even Quercia, though at one point he speaks about the ubiquity of the "international style." We need scarcely mention Masolino, Dello Delli, the *Maestro del Bambino Vispo*, and other similar Florentines. And, what are we to do with Gentile da Fabriano? Though born in the Marches, he seems at home nowhere in particular. Accepted everywhere, and spreading his influence wherever he went, he seems to be the best witness of the artificiality of Dr. Degenhart's regional barriers.

Is not the "international style" misinterpreted when only its love for gentle curves is stressed? Were not all of its representatives, even those in the North, Beauneveu and Broederlam, the Bohemians around 1400, the German painters and sculptors of this period, as much engaged in the study of the round and of space as in the cultivation of line? Do they not anticipate Masaccio, Uccello, and Castagno, who, indeed, grew out of their style? And is not Pisanello parallel to the early Florentines rather than a belated representative of an earlier phase? Certainly his "Renaissance" is in many respects different from the Florentine, but so was that of the Venetians who, despite many efforts, never learned the true Florentine way of looking at the world, whose art flourished, nevertheless, and to whom we would scarcely deny the title of having contributed their share to the complex picture of the Italian Renaissance.

It does not seem likely, then, that the particular nature of his style should be the cause of Pisanello's dying without a successor and of his being forgotten soon after his death. Moreover, it is a question whether he had this fate at all. That Vasari did not know much about him is not significant, considering this worthy Tuscan's superb indifference to practically everything outside of his home province. His neglect of Pisanello (which, incidentally, he corrected in the second edition of his work) is more than counter-balanced by the fact that in the *Codex Vallardi* an unusual number of Pisanello's drawings were preserved, possibly through the good services of Leonardo. What Pisanello's influence really was remains to be found out. Single instances are known: in Northern Italy it reveals itself in a few minor masters; Domenico Veneziano's *tondo* in Berlin is so strongly indebted to Pisanello that for a long time it was even ascribed to him; Uccello,³ Domenico di Bartolo are Tuscan instances.⁴ When looking for further examples, we ought to direct our attention to the *cassone* painters who shared their subject matter with him. That Pisanello was a leading medalist has already been mentioned, but also in painted portraits his influence may have been greater than we suspect. Even disregarding the question of his actual influence, a man who anticipated Leonardo in his universality, in his technical and almost scientific interests, a man who paid as much attention to classical art as he did — and Dr. Degenhart stresses this point, even adding new evidence such as the identification of drawing fig. 66 as a copy from some classical sculpture — a man who drew such astounding, lifelike portraits cannot have been the last representative of a mediaevalistic, retrospective current. That Pisa-

nello never founded a real school is understandable because he had no fixed abode, and he spent his life in a continuous peregrination from place to place. In this sense, Gentile da Fabriano had no school either and yet no one would speak of him as the end of a development or would deny his vast influence.

The reviewer does not want to give the impression that these doubts of his concern the most vital parts of the book. They deal with a kind of undercurrent which disturbs much of its contents very little, but which is interesting enough to someone who has already had occasion to weigh Dr. Degenhart's philosophy of history,⁵ to spend some time and thought on. The second part of this review is to deal with more essential parts of the book, with Dr. Degenhart's criticism of Pisanello's works, particularly in drawings.

There is, above all, the problem of the *Codex Vallardi*, that large lot of drawings in the Louvre, which gives such a marvelous insight into the contents of a fifteenth-century artist's portfolio. Dr. Degenhart offers, of course, plenty of fine observations on it; but, in a few points which he makes, his theories seem, for once, to interfere with a special critical problem. He lays too much stress on the fact that the survival of the *Codex Vallardi* is almost unparalleled in Central Italy. We never know how far sheer accident is responsible for such situations. Of course, we may trust Dr. Degenhart when he makes the statement that the total number of early North Italian drawings preserved is greater than that of Central Italian ones. And it is a fact that early "sketch books" occur almost exclusively in Northern Italy. It is a question, though, how far such statistics can be used as a basis for historical conclusions. The total loss, for instance, of Masaccio's drawings makes one suspicious that in Florence, for one reason or the other, the stack of drawings found in the workshop of a deceased master more easily found its way to the grocer for wrappings or to the paper mill. Besides, a Tuscan "sketch book," not unlike the North Italian ones, is preserved in the so-called *Gozzoli Sketch Book* in Rotterdam. Yet even if Pisanello had followed a favorite custom of the North in keeping together his drawings in a methodical fashion, it would only mean that he adhered to a tradition which he absorbed during his early training. Nothing forces us to find in this a deeper significance and to interpret it as another manifestation of that fateful tie which, according to Dr. Degenhart, held Pisanello so strongly bound to the outmoded tradition of a doomed style. A most important counter-argument is Leonardo's *Codices*. Here we have the drawings of a Florentine, of pure Renaissance character; here we have collections of drawings which may betray a later age in being held together by scientific theory but which are essentially not so different from the *Codex Vallardi* as to components, range of interest, and psychological background. It would have put quite a different face on the *Codex Vallardi* and its author if Dr. Degenhart had emphasized more strongly this anticipation of Leonardo. That both Pisanello's and Leonardo's drawings were preserved in such unique fashion — perhaps even together, if we can trust the report that their bindings were similar — was most likely owing to their unusual manifold interest and to the attractive, far-sighted personalities who had found expression in them.

We have to be careful in following Dr. Degenhart when he stretches the significance of the connections which link the *Codex Vallardi* to the typical mediaeval sample book; though, in all fairness, it must be said that he is well aware of its Renaissance characteristics. Collections of drawings such as the *Codex Vallardi* continued to exist in all artists' studies from the Renaissance on. The fat volumes of *accademie* by the men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which fill our oldest cabinets of prints and drawings (Uffizi!) are essentially the same

3. See W. Paatz, "Una Natività di Paolo Uccello e alcune considerazioni sull'arte del maestro," *Rivista d'arte*, xvi, 1934, pp. 111 f. and Mario Salmi, *Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veneziano*, Milan, n.d., p. 37.

4. An interesting example of Pisanello's influence on Florence is produced by Dr. Degenhart himself in the shape of a copy of one of his drawings in the so-called *Gozzoli Sketch Book* in Rotterdam (figs. 21d and 89b). The name of Gozzoli indicates the type of Central Italian painter in whom we should seek for further traces of influences from Pisanello. Even in Florence, currents existed whose tendencies were not so dissimilar from those of Pisanello.

5. See note 1.

sort of thing. Also they contain drawings *ad hoc*, like composition sketches or detail studies for specific pictures, only in small percentage. And they were used in the same way as sources for detail in paintings, as Dr. Degenhart shows the *Codex Vallardi* to have been used by Pisanello. The recurrence of the same figure pose in various pictures by Tintoretto or Tiepolo can only be explained by a reliance on such an accumulated stock of drawings,⁶ and one would like to suspect even Degas of having used his drawings and plastic sketches in this "old-masterly" fashion. Also, the inclusion of older material in such a treasure for inspiration, which Dr. Degenhart observes in the *Codex Vallardi*, continued to be a common workshop practice. What else, in the light of such utterances as the *Discourses* of Sir Joshua Reynolds, are the great drawing collections of the academicians of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries? That they were used for the furtherance of the work of the owner cannot be questioned.⁷ Indeed, the later men improved upon the old practice by adding to their material engravings, and by using them freely. Indeed, Pisanello's treasuring of older material and his occasional reliance on it have only a general similarity with the dependence of the mediaeval artist on *exempla*; this practice of his must be interpreted not as a dated feature, but *sub specie aeternitatis*. It will occur wherever artists adhere to any standards of representation.⁸ The inclusion in the *Codex Vallardi* of a great number of drawings made for the particular purpose of portraits is certainly a typical Renaissance phenomenon in its acknowledgment of the importance of the individual work of art.

It seems also too much of a simplification to lump together the Lombard "sketch books," which offer such a tempting parallel to the *Codex Vallardi*, with the real mediaeval exemplars, like the Wolfenbüttel sketch book. The loose use of the word "sketch book" has made us overlook the fact that both are separated by a fundamental difference. The latter, in truly mediaeval spirit, indicate *what* had to be represented in the depiction of the sacred stories, while the former, in their insistence on animals, plants, and other things which might or might not be used for any given stories, begin to concern themselves in an incipient Renaissance spirit, essentially with the *how* of representation. The *Codex Vallardi*, then, is linked to earlier examples which were decidedly progressive. In this connection it is worth while to examine Dr. Degenhart's comparison of the *Codex Vallardi* with Jacopo Bellini's "sketch books." His conclusions from this comparison can be exactly reversed. Bellini's volumes are particularly badly misnamed, when they are designated as "sketch books." Their contents, for the greater part, correspond really more to that of a mediaeval picture book than to anything else, no matter how advanced Bellini's principles of representation, e.g., his perspective, may be. In character and intention they must be considered as more old-fashioned than Pisanello's *Codex Vallardi*.

Again, all these observations are directed at implications of Dr. Degenhart's observations rather than at his analysis of the drawings themselves. He is perfectly right in characterizing Pisanello's style as very much of its time and place.⁹ And, if

above we have drawn a parallel between Pisanello and Leonardo, it is now only fair to point to the fundamental difference of style between the two. A simple comparison can help the reader to see what we mean. In Windsor there exists a study of two sharply foreshortened horses by Leonardo,¹⁰ which, because of its motif — one horse is seen from the front, one from the back, and they are close together — resembles drawings by Pisanello (e.g., fig. 68b) so much that one is tempted to call it an imitation after Pisanello. And yet, it is different in every detail; moreover, the animals are seen in an entirely new fashion, so that its comparison with a Pisanello drawing could serve excellently as a classroom example for demonstrating the differences of style between the earlier and the later fifteenth century, between a pure Florentine, and a non-Florentine.

It is impossible in a review to give an adequate appreciation of the careful work done in this book. There are new attributions; there is a creditable attempt to establish a chronology of the artist's work which, indeed, is a difficult undertaking. There are many valuable contributions of a variety of detail. Only a few particularly interesting matters may be mentioned here. At the present, it is hard to take a position on the new attribution of the portrait of Emperor Sigismund to Pisanello. Compared to his later portraits it looks flat and unlively; it seems even inferior to the drawn portraits of the Emperor. But its morphological detail is similar to that of Pisanello; and, of course, it would be the earliest painted portrait by the artist which we have. That Dr. Degenhart, following Richter and Hill, resolutely takes away from Pisanello the superb female portrait in the National Gallery is a blessing. It certainly is one of these rare early French portraits which were of such influence in the formation of the Italian portrait, particularly that of Pisanello. The problem of Northern influence on Italian portraiture is touched upon in a passage of the Italian edition (p. 39), which is greatly improved compared to that in the German edition (p. 37). I wonder whether one might not even go still a little further. Some of Pisanello's later portrait drawings (figs. 153 and 154) look as if they were done under the direct impression of Flemish works. The German edition reproduces as fig. 154 a third drawing belonging to this group, which could almost be taken for Flemish. We wonder whether these drawings were done in Naples, where Flemish style had taken deeper root and was more in fashion than elsewhere in Italy. In the dispute about the picture of a young lady in the Louvre, the author inclines toward the identification of the sitter with Margherita Gonzaga, the wife of Lionello d'Este. I think he is right; the *divisa* on her sleeve is that of Lionello, *plus* conspicuously displayed pearls, which — *margherite* in Italian — seem to be a play on the name of the princess.¹¹ In regard to the puzzling picture of St. Jerome in London, the author is inclined to accept it as Pisanello's despite the signature, *Bono da Ferrara*. Whatever the status of the disputed signature may be, the picture certainly is extremely close to Pisanello and would show Bono in a phase of his career which has nothing to do with his work at Padua. A particularly daring innovation as regards attributions has recently been questioned by another reviewer,¹² namely, Dr. Degenhart's assertion that the large drawings of heads from Pisanello's Neapolitan period are executed in pen over the underlying chalk sketch by the artist himself, and not by a bungling pupil, as has been generally assumed. Painful as it is, I should like to side here with Dr. Degenhart. The drawings are very unpleasant; in this I have to agree with Mr. Popham. Only, Dr. Degenhart's analysis shows that the reworking was done with such loving understanding for the character of the faces represented that it is hard to see how anyone extraneous could have had his hand in it. The queer ornamentation of the

6. See my article on the Tiepolo drawing in Chicago, "An Unusual Drawing by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo," *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, xxxiv, 1940, pp. 54 f.

7. For a direct borrowing by Sir Joshua from one of the drawings of his collection see E. Wind, "The Maenad under the Cross," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1, 1937, pp. 70 f. Also interesting in this connection is Dr. Wind's article "Borrowed Attitudes in Reynolds and Hogarth," *ibid.*, II, 1938-1939, pp. 182 f.

8. An infinite amount of material in support of this can be found in iconographical studies of Renaissance and later art. Without the tacit assumption of such conditions, the whole studies of the Warburg Library would not have been possible.

9. Pisanello's idiosyncrasies of language became particularly apparent in copies after classical sculpture. However, to return to a previous argument, are not, on the other hand, Pollaiuolo's copies after the antique as arbitrary in their interpretation as Pisanello's?

10. A. E. Popham, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, 1945, p. 27, pl. 55.

11. They do not occur in the version of the *divisa* on Lionello's medals.

12. A. E. Popham, *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVIII, 1946, p. 130.

pen line also looks more like a revival of old Veronese memories of the artist himself than like the contribution of an assistant, who would have been a younger man. On the other hand, I think that Mr. Popham should be followed in rejecting a sheet in London as containing copies after the lost frescoes in Venice (figs. 22 and 23); composition, costumes, and everything in and about them are more old-fashioned than we would expect Gentile's and Pisanello's figures in Venice to have looked. The sketch in the Louvre, if belonging to these frescoes, would indicate that the frescoes had a far greater liberty, in respect to the representation of space and to the rendering of movement.

A small detail should be corrected. Laudable as Dr. Degenhart's endeavor is to include in his book as much contemporary evidence for the fame of the artist as possible, one story does not belong in this context, and that is the notice that in 1455 Carlo de' Medici and the Cardinal of S. Marco, the future Paul II, had a dispute over who was to have "thirty very good silver medals," which the former had just acquired from the estate of a deceased helper of Pisanello. Hill has already remarked that these medals might well have been classical coins. Everything, indeed, points in this direction and, unfortunately, we do not have in this episode any evidence for the high estimation of Pisanello's own medals.

All these details show how informative Dr. Degenhart's book is; the long arguments in which it has involved the reviewer are proof of its thoughtful and provocative character. It is an excellent piece of work which has taught the reviewer a good deal while he was sweating over the question why he could not agree with certain aspects of it.¹³

ULRICH MIDDELDORF
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ANTHONY BLUNT, *French Drawings in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. 81; 19 figs. and 127 ill. \$6.50.

Mention of the treasures of art contained in the collection of drawings at Windsor Castle usually brings to mind first the famous, almost unique, collection of drawings by Leonardo, and secondly the collection of portrait drawings by Hans Holbein. Only to a few people was it known (or of any interest) that the library of the King in Windsor hides, in a long series of boxes, an unexpectedly large number of drawings by the most famous painters of the Italian Seicento — the Carracci, Domenichino, Castiglione, and others. When the collection was assembled in the eighteenth century, these painters were still considered the great masters of the past; but during the nineteenth century, the age of Primitivism, Realism, and Impressionism, they were almost completely forgotten. It is a sign of the current reawakening of interest in them that a publication of this important part of the Royal Collection is now being planned.

The drawings of Nicolas Poussin have had a similar history. Of more than five hundred French drawings enumerated in Mr. Blunt's volume, roughly a quarter are by the hand of this great master or have been attributed to him. About thirty of the drawings are by Claude Lorrain, among them some very interesting and grandiose examples of Claude's compositions for well-known paintings, and a series of Roman *vedute*. Whether the impressive big drawing of a group of trees (No. 63) belongs to Claude or even near him seems as doubtful to me as to Mr. Blunt. It should be added, however, that the old attribution to Nicolas Poussin was equally unconvincing.

The selection of drawings by other French masters in the

collection is more haphazard, though often quite interesting. Anthony Blunt, with his extensive knowledge of French painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as of French literature, has examined them item by item with great exactitude. How advantageous the knowledge of both art and literature can be is proved by Blunt's sagacious commentary to a drawing by François Clouet (or better, a variation after a woodcut after Clouet by Gourmont) representing a French Farce (No. 3).

Interesting for the composition taken from Tasso, rather than for its quality, is a drawing representing *Rinaldo Leaving Armida*. Blunt ascribes it to the second school of Fontainebleau in the style of Dubois or Dubreuil (of both of whom we know something, but not enough). Nicolas Poussin may have had it in mind when he made his fine drawing of the same subject in the Louvre. If so, this would be a new indication of the connection between Poussin and the Fontainebleau school, a connection that has often been entirely denied.

Among the sketches by Jacques Callot is one (dated 1630) of special architectural interest. It shows the Palazzo Pitti in Florence with the extension which had been planned, probably by Buontalenti (apparently not, as some have thought, by Cigoli), but not executed until later.

It seems still to be an open question whether the amusing sketches of men (Nos. 12, 13) which come from a sketch book containing drawings by Stefano della Bella and are generally attributed to this clever draughtsman influenced by Callot are by him or by Callot himself as Blunt suggests.

The "Poussinists" are not very well represented. There are some studies by Lesueur, among them an *Ecstasy of St. Paul*, which shows how close he sometimes could come to Poussin; a quite vigorous study by La Hyre for the *Nativity* in Rouen; a head of a shouting Persian by Lebrun, one of his physiognomical studies *à la* Leonardo; and finally some drawings by the prolific La Fage. The latter's *Rape of Helen* (No. 106) is an obvious reflection of Guido Reni's painting of this subject. If Mr. Blunt is correct in his suggestion that the series to which this belongs was executed in Rome, La Fage may have used the copy after Reni in the Palazzo Spada.

The eighteenth century is also very sporadically represented: an amusing study of a young lady gesticulating on a couch, formerly called J. N. Cochin, but given by Mr. Parker to Bernard Picart; the very fine drawing of a bearded man with a turban, formerly among the drawings attributed to Castiglione, but now given (again by Mr. Parker) to the early period of Watteau; a frontispiece by Boucher for Jullienne's *Figures*; and amusing heads of "grenadiers" by Parrocel.

The main value of the publication lies not so much in these scattered drawings, but almost exclusively in the fact that this is the first comprehensive presentation of the drawings by Nicolas Poussin in Windsor. These drawings have a unique importance, since the great majority of them can be traced back to collections formed during Poussin's lifetime. The author of the present review had the privilege of making the first complete catalogue of the Poussin drawings in the Royal Collection at the kind request of the Royal Librarian, Sir Owen Morshead. This catalogue brought out the fact that the Royal Collection contains the only certain works of Poussin prior to his Italian journey (the celebrated Ovid drawings for the Cavaliere Marino), and the drawings collected by Cassiano del Pozzo and by the Cardinal Camillo Massimi.

Mr. Blunt has published in this volume an excellent critical expansion of the material collected for that catalogue. There are very few places where natural differences of opinion suggest themselves. I would like, however, to postpone comment on these to the publication of the remaining volumes of the Poussin drawings, on which Mr. Blunt and I have been collaborating.

WALTER FRIEDLAENDER
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13. Some of the questions raised have been dealt with in a similar fashion in an excellent review of the book in the *Times Literary Supplement*, September 14, 1946, pp. 433 f., which I received after writing these pages. However, there are certain matters in which I have to disagree with the reviewer of the *Times Literary Supplement*.

ALEXANDER DORNER, *The Way beyond "Art,"* New York, Wittenborn, 1947. Pp. 244; 154 ill. \$5.50.

It is rare that a reviewer has the pleasure of reading a book with whose fundamental theses he is in essential agreement. The fundamental theses of Mr. Dorner's volume are the acceptance of time and of multiplicity. The dominant tradition of Western philosophy up to very recent times has been the rejection of both in favor of a world of something called Eternity, in which the offspring of Plato's Ideas were the sole inhabitants, and in which an irrefrangible unity was the essential mark of citizenship. Mr. Dorner appears to feel neither the necessity for positing such a world nor the emotional charm of its inhabitants. Eternal values, aesthetic unity, leave him cold. And your reviewer takes great pleasure in stating that they leave him cold too.

He takes less pleasure, unfortunately, in the manner in which all this is presented. To begin with Mr. Dorner seems to believe in what has been known as "ages." Ages are something in which artists and other people live, which have traits to be "expressed" by the people living in them, which can influence these people. Thus we hear about Classical Antiquity, the Renaissance, the Baroque, the Enlightenment, the Romantic Period, as if they were not merely sections of time lopped off to provide convenient, i.e., small, groups of people to deal with, but entities like Spengler's "cultures" and "civilizations." It would seem doubtful that Mr. Dorner still believes in the Hegelianism of his youth, but the traces of it remain in his treatment of these periods. Now, it is true that in classical antiquity people believed in and did certain things which were not stylish in the Middle Ages and that the latter period, even when retaining some of these things, retained them in a new form, as where it reinterpreted the old gods or treated Vergil as a magician. It is also true that each of the ages mentioned made interesting and important innovations in science and philosophy and art, as well as in technology and politics. Even when the people of these ages kept the old terms, they often gave them new meanings and a keen sense for these innovations is essential, it would seem, to a correct writing of cultural history.

Nevertheless, it is also essential to realize that in every period there has been as much conflict, tension, disagreement, in other words, multiplicity, as unity. Everybody in the eighteenth century was not part of the Enlightenment, just as a great many people living in the Romantic period were not only not Romantic but ferociously anti-romantic. If one takes our own period and surveys its art — to say nothing of its science and philosophy — one will find almost every type of painting being carried on. The painting produced in the art schools, so-called academic painting, is very similar to what was produced in the Beaux-Arts during the Second Empire. But there are also popular painters who are impressionists in the best Monet technique; there are religious painters who are still copying Raphael or, at any rate, Murillo; there are abstractionists and objectivists and non-objectivists. The commentators on this state of affairs wail about the confusion of our times. As a matter of fact, this confusion is normal and typical of all times. Had historians been more faithful to fact and less addicted to system-building, they would have seen that even "The Greeks" had their multiple interests and that such a phrase as "The Greek View of Life" was at best a short synopsis of what one or two Greeks said they believed in. If times have spirits, those spirits are as rich in conflict as the spirits of the individuals from whom the name is derived. They thus have no explanatory value whatsoever. To say that neo-classical art was rationalistic because of the Enlightenment is thus like saying that a man reasons well because he is rational.

That an artist can "express" his age seems to run alongside of the prescription that he ought to. Thus when Mr. Dorner praises Mr. Herbert Bayer, he does so because Mr. Bayer's pictures, for instance, are constructed according to the laws of modern theories of space and time. One may believe, as your reviewer does, that such an interpretation is enlightening and indeed provocative of a new understanding and of pleasure in Mr. Bayer's work. But at the same time one may ask why a painter should derive his aesthetic "rules" from physics. The belief that physics alone — by which I mean of course "the physical sciences" — describes "reality" dates roughly from the time of Galileo. It is a belief which has its merits as long as it limits the field of investigation of physicists. But when it amounts to saying that the characteristics of nature which are not susceptible of physical treatment are therefore not "real," it is a belief which causes more harm than good. For in one of the senses of the ambiguous word "real," many of the things which we value most highly in life turn out to be illusory. And since the human race has a weakness for that which is not illusory, the "real" becomes more valuable than the unreal. Is the reason why a painter should take over his rules from physics this metaphysical reason?

There can be no objection to Mr. Bayer's deciding to take as his problem the representation of Space-Time with its interpenetrating planes and what can best be called its dynamic vitality. A reader of Mr. Dorner's book with its copious illustrations will probably agree that Mr. Bayer has succeeded admirably in giving to his canvases these very characteristics. But this makes him a modern artist only in the sense that he has accepted some of the findings of modern science as his subject matter, not in the sense that it is incumbent on all modern artists to do as much nor in the sense that this subject-matter is inherently more beautiful, more important, or more expressive of the mid-twentieth-century *Zeitgeist*. Regardless of what physics may say of Space-Time, the curvature of light rays, the bouncing of quanta from point to point without passing through the intervening points, we happen to live on so restricted a plane that we still see light traveling in straight lines, just as the camera does, and when we travel or watch physical objects traveling, we and they traverse all intervening space in order to get from point to point. No physicist ever said that the dynamics of the macroscopic world were those of the microscopic; painters are still reasonable if they choose to depict objects in the former.

None of this should be taken as serious detraction from the great merit of Mr. Dorner's work. He has elaborated here an aesthetics of Time and Multiplicity and for that we should be profoundly grateful. The old slogans of Platonistic aesthetics, the harping on Eternal Values, Universal Appeal, Aesthetic Unity, and the like have had their day and it was about time that someone should have frankly accepted the challenge of time and diversity. Mr. Dorner has done this and, as John Dewey says in his Introduction to the volume, "No more far-reaching or penetrating statement could be made . . . than that which is made in the early pages of the present volume." Unfortunately, it is too often made in the jargon of the metaphysical classroom which will render it all but unintelligible to most readers. It therefore runs the risk of being treated as an eccentric bit of literary mystification, whereas it should be read with care and sympathy. For even where one disagrees with its author, one finds plenty of stimulation, delicacy of perception, novelty of interpretation.

GEORGE BOAS
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DEAR SIR,

My reply to Mr. Langton Douglas' two letters anent the interpretation of Piero di Cosimo's picture in the Hartford Atheneum (ART BULLETIN, XXIX, 1947, pp. 143 ff., 222 f.) can be brief. Concerning the fundamental issue, Mr. Langton Douglas has not been able to point out a common denominator between the action represented in the Hartford picture and the myth of Hylas as told by the poets and mythographers, or to show any connection between this myth and the context in which the Hartford picture admittedly belongs; the alleged association of Hylas with the wool trade (*via* the Golden Fleece) could justify, at best, the popularity of Hylas in Florentine art — a popularity documented, so far as I know, by exactly one instance — but not his occurrence in the company of Vulcan and within a history of the rise of human civilization as predicated on the use of fire. Concerning the by now familiar peregrine falcon, Mr. Langton Douglas has not been able to produce a textual or representational source which to a mind unaided by the *Oxford Dictionary* would suggest the falcon's connection with that specific form of "lust" that animated the abductresses of Hylas; and when he reminds our readers of the uncontested fact that the falcon is a bird of prey, I must remind them, tedious though it is, of the fact that the symbolic significance attached to this bird of prey is almost invariably a positive one, and that Leonardo da Vinci — like Piero a "Florentine artist" and a "lover of nature" — mentions it, once, under the conspicuous heading of "Pride" and, twice, under the no less conspicuous heading of "Magnanimity"; this "key" to the significance of the picture opens, to say the least, a great variety of doors. Concerning the nymphs, women, girls, or ladies (I do not at all object to the nymphs' being referred to by appellations normally applied to human beings in a description of their visual appearance, but I do object to their not being distinguished from human beings in discussion of their mythological essence), Mr. Langton Douglas has not been able to explain why the nymphs of Lemnos, even before the descent of Vulcan, should be less handsomely appareled than the nymphs of Mysia or any other locality. Concerning the reading "*ab nympis*" in Servius' commentary on the Fall of Vulcan, finally, Mr. Langton Douglas has actually strengthened my case beyond all expectations. Informed by scholars more expert in these matters than both Mr. Langton Douglas and myself, he has acquainted us with the fact that this reading occurs, not once but three or four times in the manuscripts, that it is found in a codex of such venerable age as the *Vaticanus Latinus* 3317, and that this very codex was known to Politian; and my satisfaction with this disclosure is not diminished by Mr. Langton Douglas' attempt to eliminate Politian as a possible "channel" to Piero on the grounds that he might not have had occasion to study the *Vaticanus* until after the completion of the Hartford picture. In the first place, we have absolutely no knowledge as to when and where Politian saw the manuscript; in the second place, there was such a thing as correspondence between humanists; in the third place, it does not matter whether it was Politian or someone else who called Piero's attention to the *ab nympis* reading.

In sum, both Mr. Langton Douglas' letters give aid and comfort to the intrepid group — recently augmented by the Reviewer in *The [London] Times Literary Supplement* of November 30, 1946, p. 592, and by Mr. Ellis Waterhouse in *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXIX, 1947, p. 230 — that "still clings to the hypothesis that Piero di Cosimo's picture at Hartford represents the *Fall of Vulcan*." With this, I consider the discussion, as far as I am concerned, closed.

ERWIN PANOFSKY

SIR:

In the very number of the ART BULLETIN (XXIX, 1947) in which I protested against the character of a review by Dr. Maenchen (pp. 69-71), you published a review of my *Masterpieces of Persian Art* by Dr. Aga Oglu (pp. 53-61) which, though far more carefully prepared and more temperate in language than Dr. Maenchen's review, illustrates the same faults, offending scholarly standards and the ideals of sound reviewing quite as seriously as Dr. Maenchen's article. For the same reasons, it ought to be examined and evaluated. This is the more necessary because the book, and therefore the review, are both in a field in which there has been very little American scholarship, and very few of your readers could be in a position justly to appraise Dr. Aga Oglu's statements, or to discover the errors of fact and the fallacies of method and purpose which invalidate much of it.

At first sight it might impress the reader, particularly if he were not expert in the field, as industrious, learned, precise, judicial, courageous. But such an impression could not survive a second reading; industrious it certainly is, and perhaps courageous, though "reckless" might better suit some passages; thorough re-examination, however, will reveal other, less commendable qualities.

By the inordinate length of his review (fifteen columns, *ca.* thirty book pages) Dr. Aga Oglu unwittingly paid the book a compliment which, by his own account, it does not deserve. One wonders why such an unusual effort. The reason which he implies — that he must protect the public from the further publications planned by the Asia Institute — is, in view of the achieved reputations of the Institute's scholars and their associates, so thin that it can only be an excuse for an undertaking otherwise motivated. These other motives the review itself reveals to the attentive reader.

The review consists of some sound corrections, a considerable number of reasonable arguments, and an immoderate amount of trivia. It is controlled by a wrong point of view as to the nature of the history of art, and intolerance of, or an incapacity to understand, any other point of view. The same could be said for many a review and would not ordinarily call for an extensive answer, but this review contains some features so objectionable that it cannot be ignored.

Throughout the review Dr. Aga Oglu's zest for disparagement determines his judgments and tends to defeat his intention. That he can find some 11,000 words of fault-finding and not a single word of approval — save for the make-up — indicates that his effort was directed by something more than judicial rigor. That Dr. Aga Oglu can find nothing but the mechanical presentation to commend in a book by three scholars whose published work exceeds his own by more than a hundredfold is in itself odd; nor will the perceiving reader be easily convinced that the *Masterpieces* is that rare item, an example of total intellectual depravity.

Even his trivia are suspicious. For instance, he objects to the word "Masterpieces" in the title on the ground that, as the Preface admits, there are a few objects included that are not masterpieces. Would Dr. Aga Oglu really prefer the title to read "*Masterpieces of Persian Art, Including Nine Pieces That Are Not Masterpieces, But Are Included For Comparative Purposes*"?

Some of Dr. Aga Oglu's dogmatisms are a little rash, as if he were willing to take a risk for the sake of making a hit, for example when he says that "Urumiya" is a misspelling for "Urmiya." The fact is that "Urmiya" is a Syriac misspelling

for the Azerbaijan-Turkish name "Urumiya," which has the on-the-spot priority and authority.

Again, he asserts without qualification that the modern name "Persia" is the same as the name "Parsua" used in Assyrian inscriptions. This derivation is by no means generally accepted by specialists in Old Persian, some of whom deny any connection.

Very likely, as Dr. Aga Oglu says, the so-called Nachshirvan ewers were made in East Persia; but the group has long been called "Nachshirvan." That is a designation in the literature and on many museum labels. It designates a type, as does "Hot Cross Buns," which may be stone-cold. The caption to which he objects designates the pieces as "Nachshirvan Type." In a detailed history of mediaeval Persian metalwork such a problem of attribution ought to be discussed; it would be out of place in a work addressed to the general public.

Some of the inconsistencies charged against the *Masterpieces* are quite imaginary, and most of them would be promptly disposed of by a reading which was even half-way sympathetic. Some are merely verbal. Dr. Aga Oglu complains that the Achaemenids did not build the canal joining the Red Sea with the Mediterranean, as the writer says; they only "completed the abandoned construction." Who constructed the Panama Canal — De Lesseps or Goethals?

Other criticisms which Dr. Aga Oglu brings in are hardly more than quibbles. He protests against the writer's use of the word "temple" in reference to the Hall of a Hundred Columns at Persepolis, which Dr. Aga Oglu insists is not a temple but an audience hall. But a royal audience in this civilization was neither a mere social, nor a purely political, function. Dr. Aga Oglu has failed to understand the Iranian conception of kingship and the relation of the King to the State religion. This building, moreover, and other apadana there were built for the celebration of a great religious festival over which the King presided, as the bas-reliefs show. Therefore the word "temple" correctly expresses to the Western mind the purposes of the building, and the character and spirit of the occasion and of the King's part in it.

The first obligation of a reviewer is to take account of the author's purposes, and judge the book in terms of its own aims. Yet Dr. Aga Oglu protests that the author has given no history of carpets; the author had no intention of doing any such thing. The audience which he was addressing wants other kinds of information; wants guidance and insight, something beyond the usual machinery of classification, dating, cataloguing, and documentation; in the *Survey of Persian Art* the author has given a history of Persian carpets, more comprehensive and detailed than has ever been attempted before or since, and he has also provided a general history of Oriental carpets for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In the *Masterpieces of Persian Art* such a text, even had there been room for it, would have been unfitting.

Similarly, Dr. Aga Oglu demands arguments for attributions. In a book of this kind these would, for the most part, be unsuitable — which does not mean that the author lacks such arguments.

What Dr. Aga Oglu really wanted was a conventional history of the art of Persia; but this was not the subject of the book. Those who want that sort of thing will find it with systematic completeness in the *Survey of Persian Art*.

Criticisms of this kind are more than faults of carelessness, and Dr. Aga Oglu would probably not want to be excused on the ground that he was ignorant of the accepted standards and procedure in reviewing.

On method, to be sure, there can be an honest difference of opinion. For Dr. Aga Oglu the history of art is primarily description of fact and documented attribution; to the writer, important as these are, they remain preliminary and external. The formula for art history which Dr. Aga Oglu assumes is popular

just now, but the *Masterpieces of Persian Art* was, in part, a presentation to the interested public of another, more humane point of view. For the writer, as for the reviewer, art is indeed a fact, but its importance lies beyond that, for art is also an experience, and it was the intention of the *Masterpieces of Persian Art* to present a brief *aperçu* of Persian art in terms which communicated something of the attitudes and emotions which had created the art under discussion. Dr. Aga Oglu seems to be unable to escape from the pattern imposed on him in his student days, with its wholly uncritical criteria of "scientific" method, as applied to humanistic material. It is on this fundamental disagreement that Dr. Aga Oglu has based his scorn for the book.

The kind of mere factual description without comprehension or interpretation which constitutes art history as Dr. Aga Oglu conceives it does not, however, require real scientific method, in which the hypothesis is a *sine qua non*, and Dr. Aga Oglu does not seem to grasp the difference between an hypothesis and a guess. This becomes clear in his comments on Dr. Ackerman's tentative interpretation of the interesting Graeco-Bactrian silver bowl. Its iconography is not, as Dr. Ackerman indicates, by any means a solved problem; but its elucidation can be undertaken only on the broad basis of iconographic and religious-historical knowledge which is prerequisite to the humanistic scientific method.

Dr. Aga Oglu's constant citation of long-superseded authorities shows that his frequent reference to "modern historical art scholarship" is only a phrase, not the expression of a well-criticized working principle. Thus on a point of some interest to students of European art (Dr. Ackerman's brief discussion of griffons) he thinks it conclusive to cite three perfunctory German productions dating between 1890 and 1917. Had Dr. Aga Oglu done any serious work in early Asiatic iconography he would know how completely great ranges of publications in that field have been discarded as out-of-date. An adequate treatment of the griffon — equally as to forms, which vary greatly, and as to implicit ideas — has never appeared; Dr. Ackerman has an extensive study in manuscript.

Dr. Aga Oglu quotes individuals as if their opinions constituted conclusive evidence. This is bad medicine alike for student and scholar. There is no one whose opinions are so important as facts. For instance, Dr. Aga Oglu dismisses the summary of Dr. Ackerman's serious study of prehistoric pottery designs by quoting Dr. Herzfeld, "There is no way of interpreting such absolute prehistoric symbols"; as he has previously dismissed the discussion of the Bronze Age by quoting Dr. Herzfeld to the effect that "the immigration of the Aryans to the Iranian Plateau marks the beginning of Iran's historical rôle." Both these assertions are wrong, and to use one man's confession of failure to attempt to inhibit further research is to offend a fundamental tenet of scientific faith — that no problem is essentially insoluble. It is this faith that has moved mountains of prejudice, let light into dark places, and is primarily responsible for advancing the frontiers of knowledge.

He objects to the omission of data on the Aryan migration to the Iranian plateau. But a consideration of this prehistoric episode would be appropriate in a book like the *Masterpieces* only on the old assumption that this population movement marked decisive cultural changes, once thought of as great cultural and especially religious advances. But this highly speculative hypothesis was originally only taken for granted, though long repetition as a fact has made many, including apparently Dr. Aga Oglu and Dr. Herzfeld whom he quotes, forget that it was not based on any real evidence. Actually, the more we know of the early Aryans and their backward, derivative, marginal culture, the less significant this ethnic shift becomes for the history of religion and art. Dr. Aga Oglu states that this disregard of the Aryan invasion, to which no specific contribution to Iranian art can be assigned, "leaves the unmistakable impression that the author considers the population of the Iranian plateau before

ca. 1500 B.C. to have been Iranian." This is a mistaken impression and, in view of the writer's frequent denials of any such notion, inexcusably mistaken.

Dr. Aga Oglu cannot escape the charge of deliberate misquotation and misuse. He quotes (p. 54, col. 1): "Persian art never achieved the suggestibility, the capacity to awaken echoes of the unseen," omitting the rest of the sentence: "which characterize the greatest Chinese painting." The unnatural excision of the culminating phrase, which is the point of the sentence, leaves his quotation ungrammatical as well as misleading. This could hardly have been an accident. To say that this statement is "sharply contrasting" with the author's emphasis on the suggestive character of Iranian ornamental motives is distortion.

Dr. Aga Oglu has been guilty of some quite surprising errors of fact. For example, in contesting the author's statement that "in all essential respects the civilization of the Iranian plateau and adjoining areas preceded that of Egypt," Dr. Aga Oglu cites a work of Edouard Meyer published in 1904, one published by Borchard in 1917, and the fantastic chronology of Sir Flinders Petrie, also published in 1917, which few ever took seriously at any time. Such citations are a public confession by Dr. Aga Oglu that he is unaware that all these early datings have long been rejected, and even the subsequent later datings have now been scaled down again by the brilliant work of such men as Professor Albright. The priority of Iranian and Mesopotamian civilization is now generally accepted. Dr. Aga Oglu's unfamiliarity with this subject is exposed by his reference to Petrie, for Sir Flinders was the first proponent of the priority of the Elamite civilization over that of Egypt, the latter, according to him, having owed its initial impulsion just before the Dynastic period to an invasion from a mainland area within the Mesopotamian-Iranian cultural zone.¹

Dr. Aga Oglu dismisses the author's attribution to Azerbaijan of certain bronzes. He denies that any Azerbaijan bronzes are known. Actually, a considerable quantity of bronzes has come from that region, including a group in the Teheran museum, and they have been the subject of a number of studies, most of them in Russian which Dr. Aga Oglu, who reads Russian, ought to know. M. Godard regards the whole Luristan group as but an offshoot from the Azerbaijan culture. The motive to object to anything and everything can sometimes get a bit out of hand.

Dr. Aga Oglu speaks like an arrived specialist on Persian textiles when he writes that all but two of the "textiles in this book must be subjected to a careful scrutiny before an opinion can be expressed concerning their place among the known textiles of the mediaeval centuries." Every one of these textiles has already been subjected to painstaking scrutiny, not once, but many times, and not merely by the writer, but also by Dr. Ackerman, whose competence is beyond controversy. Among the important and beautiful silks which Dr. Aga Oglu challenges by innuendo are the splendid compound cloth in the Montreal Museum, the compound cloth with two angels of which there is a larger piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum which Mr. Wingfield Digby, Curator of Textiles there, said was, in his opinion, "the most beautiful of extant silks." It casts aspersions also on the blue and yellow compound cloth in the Providence Museum and the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia. All these pieces have been subjected to careful study by the museums that own them. And as investigation in Persia has ascertained, they all came from the same graves as the two pieces which Dr. Aga Oglu deigns to approve. The reckless challenge as falsifications of unfamiliar works of art without detailed proof was roundly condemned at both the Second and Third International Congresses on Persian Art and Archaeology as irresponsible and damaging to the interests of both art and history.

1. A posthumous article by Sir Flinders Petrie on this subject will be included in the forthcoming number of the *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute*.

Dr. Ackerman's judgment on these textiles is based not only on a first-hand knowledge of all the Persian textiles of this period which are known to exist, but also on comparative technical and design analyses of the most exacting character and comprehensiveness. Her work on the textiles of the period in the *Survey of Persian Art* is proof of her wide erudition and her technical expertness. Furthermore, most of these silks and many others from the same source have been intensively studied and endorsed by Madame Marguerite Mallon, outstanding French expert on mediaeval Near Eastern textiles.

Dr. Aga Oglu assumes that the Sasanian carpet *bahar-i-kisra* (Spring of Khosraw) "was most certainly a brocaded tapestry." This is exciting news for textile historians, and Dr. Aga Oglu should not withhold the source and evidence for his revolutionary discovery. Nothing that could properly be called a "brocaded tapestry" is known prior to the European Renaissance (sixteenth century), and even then the term "brocaded" could be challenged.

Similarly, the statement that the foliage and other details of the famous Alp Arslan silver salver in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts "betray peculiarities which are in utter disagreement with the stylistic features of Seljuq art in the eleventh century" reveals real ignorance of Seljuq ornament, for every feature of the salver is wholly consonant with the art of the time, as even the published material shows. The fullest record of Seljuq ornament, however, much of it unpublished, is to be found in the scores of photographs of contemporary carved stucco *in situ* in Persia, in the archives of the Asia Institute. But though this unrivalled and instructive material has been available at any time to Dr. Aga Oglu, he has never made any effort to consult it.

Dr. Aga Oglu attempts to pass judgment on Dr. Ackerman's interpretation of the ornament on the prehistoric painted pottery, and the development of the Polarc cosmology. He asserts that her work "is singularly fantastic. She considers these painted pottery pieces," he says, "as 'man's first book' [not her phrase but Dr. Contenau's], and reads it with ease, a task never before attempted by any student." He adds, further down, "there can be no doubt that the interpretations offered are apparently based on intuition and the flights of a turbulent imagination rather than on sober historical research."

Dr. Aga Oglu's assumption that she "reads with ease" the difficult symbolisms of primitive cosmological speculation must be a psychological transfer on Dr. Aga Oglu's part, from the fact that he can read with ease Dr. Ackerman's compact expositions, thanks to the logic of her thinking and the consequent lucidity of her formulations.

What are the facts? In denying that there is any "sober historical research" behind these summaries, what effort had he made to measure the incessant hard work which has gone into Dr. Ackerman's twenty years of research on these problems, the erudition that she has assembled as the foundation for her hypotheses, the testing and redactions of these hypotheses, the reconsiderations of method in the light of years of previous intensive professional training in philosophy? At the time that Dr. Aga Oglu was writing this review he was in frequent telephonic communication with the Asia Institute, but he made no effort whatever to examine the relevant archives available there, either the collection of analytic drawings of prehistoric ornament or Dr. Ackerman's own iconography file. The former represents two and one-half years' work by Dr. Alexander zu Eltz, and is now being carried on brilliantly by Dr. Oskar Reuther. The iconographic index, which is the actual basis of Dr. Ackerman's presumed "subjective caprice," as Dr. Aga Oglu calls it, consists of over 12,000 entries, meticulously classified and cross-referenced, representing a detailed examination of several thousand objects from palaeolithic to mediaeval times, embracing the cultures of all Asia, combined with comparative work in Egypt, and in Oceania and the Americas, and also widely and deeply

documented from religious and mythological texts, folklore and the history of superstition. This is the substructure of the rigorously critical analyses, some of the results of which Dr. Ackerman has briefly summarized in these sections of the *Masterpieces*. It is conclusions that have been so grounded in systematic research that Dr. Aga Oglu characterizes as the product of a "turbulent imagination." He says that the task of reading these patterns has never before been attempted. The bibliography relevant to the subject is considerable.

In his discussion of the Polaris cult, he seems to think that it is an invention of Dr. Ackerman's; it would be interesting to know just when Dr. Aga Oglu first heard of this important stage in early religion. Having just quoted Dr. Ackerman's information that "the three-disk motive had been a central emblem of the polaris cosmology . . .," Dr. Aga Oglu paraphrases it only six lines beyond, as "the 'central emblem of the polaris cosmology.'" Must one remind any contributor to the *ART BULLETIN* that there is a wide gap between the indefinite and the definite article? And if Dr. Aga Oglu knew anything about polaris cosmology, he could not make such an error. How can such a description of a colleague's work escape the charge of being little more than a crude and irresponsible calumny?

Dr. Aga Oglu concludes by saying, "the book is destined to remain of no avail to students." Dr. Aga Oglu is apparently alone in dismissing as of no value the publication for the first time of some fifty first-class examples of Persian art; and curiously enough, a considerable number of scholars, artists and designers, without waiting for Dr. Aga Oglu's sanction, have written about the book with marked enthusiasm.

No mountainous array of footnotes can disguise a fundamental want of sincerity or protect a writer's argument from the errors insincerity breeds. In any case, like Dr. Maenchen, Dr. Aga Oglu offends against those high standards of reviewing

which are indispensable to sound progress in the still young field of Asiatic Art History.

ARTHUR UPHAM POPE
The Asia Institute

SIR:

Please correct in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947, the following passages:

On p. 96, col. b, line 10, instead of "1147" read "1146."

On p. 96, col. b, lines 26-27, instead of "par. 378" read "par. 38."

On p. 97, col. b, line 4, instead of "superstructure" read "substructure."

On p. 116, col. a, after line 21 insert: "Bamberg State Archives, Hofkammerzahlamtsrechnung 1513-14, fol. 184 r., 194 r."

JUSTUS BIER
University of Louisville

SIR:

A typographical error has crept into my "Postlogium Sugerianum" (*ART BULLETIN*, XXIX, 1947), and seems to have escaped me when I read the proof: p. 119, col. 2, part (b), lines 7 ff. Instead of "The distress of the women, however, was so . . . intolerable that you could see how they . . . marched forward with horror as though upon a pavement" read: "The distress of the women, however, was so . . . intolerable that you could see with horror how they . . . marched forward as though upon a pavement."

ERWIN PANOFSKY

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

CARLO ANTI, *Teatri greci arcaici*, Venice, Le Tre Venezie, 1947. Pp. 337; 81 pls.

DANIEL R. BUTTERFLY, *The Architecture of Vision*, New York, Beechhurst Press, 1947. Pp. 110; 10 pls. \$3.50.

HANS GRABER, *Paul Gauguin nach eigenen und fremden Zeugnissen*, Basel, Benno Schwabe, 1946. Pp. 511; 60 ills. \$8.25.

GIUSTA NICCO FASOLA, *Della Critica*, Florence, Felice le Monnier, 1947. Pp. 86.

ELIZABETH GILMORE HOLT, ed., *Literary Sources of Art History. An Anthology of Texts from Theophilus to Goethe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947. Pp. 555; 25 ills. \$6.00.

HILARY JENKINSON and H. H. BELL, compilers, *Italian Archives, During the War and at Its Close*, London, The British Committee for the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, 1947. Pp. 56; 5 ill. \$0.55.

DORIS LEE and ARNOLD BLANCH, *Painting for Enjoyment*, New York, Tudor, 1947. Pp. 128; ill. \$1.50 (paper) and \$3.00 (cloth).

J. PIJOAN, *Historia del Arte*, Barcelona, Salvat, 1947. Pp. 534; 49 pls. and 855 ill.

BRENDA PUTNAM, *Animal X-Rays*, G. P. Putnam, 1947. Pp. 37; 32 drwgs. and 13 photographs. \$3.50.

HANS TIETZE, *European Master Drawings in the United States*, New York, J. J. Augustin, 1947. Pls. 160. \$20.00.

RALPH WICKISER, *Art Activities*, New York, Henry Holt, 1947. Pp. 275; ill. \$3.75.

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